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DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

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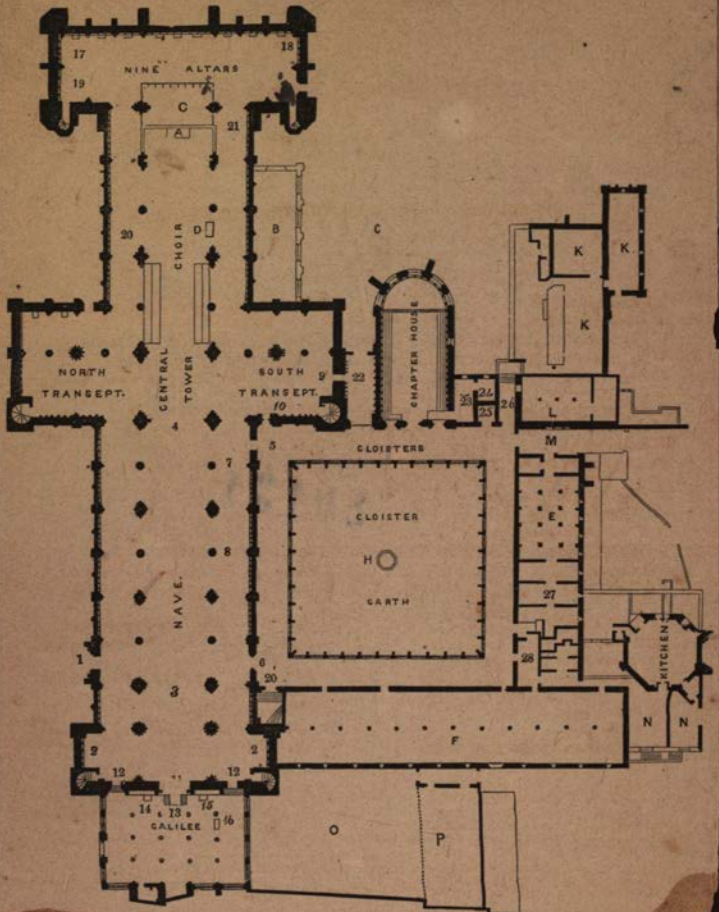

PLAN OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL AND CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS.

Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

Reduced, by permission, from Mr. Gordon Hill's plan in the 'Journal of the Archæological Associa

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REFERENCES TO PLAN OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

A *Altar and Screen.*
B *Re-vestry: destroyed.*
C *Platform of St. Cuthbert's Shrine.*
D *Bp. Hatfield's Tomb, and Bishop's Throne.*
E *Cellars, with Refectory over: now the Old Library.*
F *Vestries and Frater House, with Dormitory over: now the New Library.*
H *Lavatory.*
K K K *Apartments in Prior's House: now the Deanery*
L *Original Frater House.*
M *Passage to Abbey Yard.*
N N *Cellarer's Offices.*
O *Ancient Garden.*
P *Latrines.*

1 *North Portal.*
2, 2 *West Towers.*
3 *Supposed line of demarcation for women.*
4 *Ancient place of Screen and Jesus Altar: removed.*
5 *Prior's Door.*
6 *Monks' Door.*
7 *Monument of Ralph Lord Neville.*
8 *Monument of John Lord Neville and Wife.*
9 *Door of Passage to Chapter House.*
10 *Monument of Bp. Barrington.*
11 *Great Western Entrance: now opening to Galilee.*
12, 12 *Doors into Galilee.*
13 *Tomb of Bp. Langley, and Altar of Blessed Virgin Mary.*
14 *Altar of Our Lady of Pity.*
15 *Altar of Ven. Bede.*
16 *Tomb of Ven. Bede.*
17 *Grave of Bp. Anthony Bek.*
18 *Grave of Bp. Richard de Bury.*
19 *Statue of Bp. Van Mildert.*
20 *Stone Seat, and Grave of Bp Skerlaw.*
21 *Ancient place of the Black Rood of Scotland.*
22 *Ancient Sacristy: now passage room.*
23, 24, 25 *Apartments, of uncertain appropriation.*
26 *Passage to Prior's House: now Deanery.*
27 *Ancient Cellars.*
28 *Cellars and Pantries.*
29 *Portal and Staircase leading to Dormitory.*

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DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

PART I.

History and Details.

I. The authorities for the history of Durham Cathedral are the 'Historia Dunelmensis' of Simeon of Durham, ranging from the foundation of the see to the year 1097; that by the 'Continuator' of Simeon, from 1097 to 1144; and the later histories of Geoffry of Coldingham and William de Chambre. All these were Benedictines in the great monastery attached to the cathedral. Incidental notices, chiefly relating to the great shrine, occur in the book of Reginald, another monk of Durham, 'De admirandis Virtutibus beati Cuthberti.' Something may also be gathered from charters and other records; but few Fabric Rolls (and those only of late date) exist; and although the main facts relating to the building are recorded by the local historians, much remains to be learnt from a careful study of the architecture itself.[a]

[a] Simeon and his Continuator will be found in Twysden's 'Scriptores Decem;' and were edited in a single volume by Bedford, in 1732. The history of the 'Continuator' was

II. The great cathedral of Durham, the position of which is almost unique among English cathedrals, is indebted for its foundation to the flight, in the year 875, of the Bishop of Bernicia (the portion of Northumbria between the Tees and the Forth) from his island see of Lindisfarne. In that year the Danes made a fierce attack on Northumbria, and were approaching Lindisfarne when Bishop Eardulf, taking with him the body of St. Cuthbert, and accompanied by his monks, and, according to Reginald, by the laymen of the island, fled from the invaders, and wandered for seven years in various directions, until in 883 a

inserted by Wharton in the first volume of his 'Anglia Sacra,' where Coldingham and Chambre are also printed. The best edition of these latter historians, however, is the volume of the Surtees Society, entitled 'Historiæ Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres.' The third writer is Robert de Greystanes. The book of Reginald of Durham has been published by the same society. It should be said that, although William de Chambre was in all probability a monk of Durham, little is known of him with any certainty. The tract entitled 'A Description or brief Declaration of all ye auntient Monuments, Rites, and Customs belonging to the Monasticall Church of Durham before ye suppression, written in 1593,' first published by Davies in 1672, by Hunter in 1733, and by Sanderson in 1767, has been edited for the Surtees Society from the original among the Chapter MSS. No such complete account exists of the arrangements of any other English church before the great change of the 16th century. 'A Brief Account of Durham Cathedral,' Newcastle, 1833, was published by the late Dr. Raine, who, as librarian of Durham, had access to MS. documents of great importance. Dr. Raine's 'St. Cuthbert,' Durham, 1828, is full of valuable information relating to the shrine, and to the history of the saint.

resting-place was found at Cunegaccaster, or Chester-le-Street. That place passed to the bishop and St. Cuthbert among large possessions between Tyne and Wear, given by Guthred, a Danish king reigning at York. The nature of the subsequent grant (said to have been made by Guthred, and confirmed by the great Alfred) of all the land between Tyne and Tees, forming the present "bishopric," is at least doubtful. The see remained at Chester-le-Street for more than a century, but in 995 it was removed by Bishop Ealdhun to Durham. The site was then nearly covered with thick wood, except a small portion of level ground which had been brought into some kind of cultivation.[b] Ealdhun, however, had no doubt well marked its capabilities as a place of safety and of defence; and, on the highest point of the rock round which the river Wear winds so remarkably, he caused a small church to be constructed from branches of the trees close at hand. In this the body of St. Cuthbert was placed whilst a more substantial building, also of wood, was prepared. Here St. Cuthbert rested for the three following years; during which the bishop, assisted by Uhtred, Earl of Northumbria, and by the whole of the population between the Tees and the Cocquet, was employed in building a stone church,[c] which was so

[b] "In Dunelmum . . . locum quidem natura munitum sed non facile habitabilem . . . quoniam densissima undique silva totum occupaverat. Tantum in medio planicies erat non grandis, quam arando et seminando excolere consueverant."—Sim. Dunelm. L. iii. c. 2.

[c] "Igitur præfatus antistes totius populi auxilio, et comitis

far completed in 999, that, on the 4th of September in that year, the body of St. Cuthbert was "reverently deposited therein."

This church was the existing cathedral when Walcher, the first bishop after the Conquest, came to the see in 1071. During his episcopate (1071—1080), the castle of Durham was founded by the Conqueror; and the Earldom of Northumberland, on the death of Waltheof, was conferred on Bishop Walcher. The castle passed into his hands with the earldom; and although the Palatine jurisdiction was in fact but a continuation of the older rule of the great Northumbrian Earls, it is from this time that it takes the form in which it continued for the next four centuries.[d]

Northanimbrorum Uhtredi adjutorio totam extirpans silvam succidit, ipsumque locum brevi habitabilem fecit. Denique a flumine Coqued usque ad Teisam universa populorum multitudo tam ad hoc opus quam ad construendam postmodum ecclesiam prompto animo accessit, et donec perficeretur devota insistere non cessavit. Eradicata itaque silva, et unicuique mansionibus sorte distributis præsul antedictus amore Christi et sancti Cuthberti fervens, ecclesiam honesto nec parvo opere inchoavit, et ad perficiendam omni studio intendit. Interea sanctum corpus de illa quam superius diximus ecclesiola in aliam translatum quæ alba ecclesia vocabatur, tribus ibidem annis dum major ecclesia construeretur requievit." S. Dunelm. L. iii. c. 2. Ealdhun thus founded the city of Durham as well as the cathedral.

[d] "Palatine, a term which, originating in the palace of the Byzantine emperors, and signifying in its simple and restricted sense nothing more than an inhabitant of the palace, came successively to denote an officer of the household, a governor of a province with extensive delegated powers, and at last . . . a feudal Prince who owed little more than a nominal subjection

"The Prelate of Durham became one, and the more important, of the only two English prelates whose worldly franchises invested them with some faint shadow of the sovereign powers enjoyed by the princely churchmen of the Empire. The Bishop of Ely in his island, the Bishop of Durham in his hill-fortress, possessed powers which no other English ecclesiastic was allowed to share. Aidan and Cuthbert had lived almost a hermit's life among their monks on their lonely island; their successors grew into the lords of a palatinate, in which it was not the peace of the King but the peace of the bishop which the wrong-doer was in legal language held to have broken. The external aspect of the city of itself suggests its peculiar character. Durham alone, among English cities, with its highest point crowned not only by the Minster, but by the vast castle of the Prince-Bishop, recalls to mind those cities of the Empire—Lausanne, or Chur, or Sitten, where the priest who bore alike the sword and the pastoral staff looked down from his fortified height on a flock which he had to guard no less

to the paramount sovereign."—*Surtees*. Immediately after the Norman conquest the bounds of the Palatinate included the chief part of the district between Tees and Tyne (with the exception of the Wapentake of Sadberge, most of which was afterwards acquired by purchase or free grant, the suzerainty of Barnard Castle always remaining disputed) the districts of Bedlington, Norham, Holy Island, and Craike, together with Hexhamshire, the city of Carlisle, and a district in Teviotdale. Of these last named possessions the see of Durham was deprived by Henry I.—*Surtees*, 'History of Durham,' vol. i., pp. 16, 17.

against worldly than against ghostly foes. Such a change could never have taken place if the see of St. Cuthbert had still lingered in its hermit-island; it could hardly have taken place if he had finished his wanderings on a spot less clearly marked out by nature for dominion. The translation of the see to Durham by Ealdhun is the turning-point in the history of that great bishopric."[e]

III. Bishop Walcher, on his accession, found an establishment of secular canons in connexion with the cathedral. At what time these canons had replaced the monks who had been the earlier attendants on the body of St. Cuthbert is uncertain. According to Simeon, it was Walcher's intention to have restored the monks.[f] This was prevented by the murder of the bishop at

[e] Freeman's Norman Conquest, i. p. 321. The conclusion of the passage may here be added,—"And it is something more; it is deserving of notice in the general history of England as laying the foundation of a state of things which in England remained exceptional, but which, had it gained a wider field, would have made a lasting change in the condition of the country. The spiritual Palatine of Durham, and the temporal Palatine of Chester, stood alone in the possession of their extraordinary franchises. The unity of the kingdom was therefore not seriously endangered by the existence of these isolated principalities, especially as the temporal Palatinate so early became an appanage of the heir to the crown. But had all bishopricks possessed the same rights as Durham, had all earldoms possessed the same rights as Chester, England could never have remained a consolidated monarchy. It must have fallen in pieces in exactly the same way that the empire did, and from essentially the same cause."

[f] "Hic quoque, si diuturniora hujus vitæ tempora extitissent, monachus fieri, et monachorum habitationem ad sacrum corpus

Gateshead in 1080; but his purpose was carried into execution by his successor, William of St. Carileph (S. Calais, 1081—1096), who in the year 1083 brought together at Durham the Benedictines who, since the Conquest, had been established at Wearmouth and at Jarrow. The removal of Ealdhun's Cathedral, and the erection of the present vast building, were perhaps rendered necessary by the introduction of the monks and by the additional space which they required. At any rate, either for these reasons, or from the usual Norman love of building, Bishop Carileph began to construct the present cathedral in 1093, ten years after the introduction of the monks; but in the mean time the bishop had supported the claims of Duke Robert against those of William Rufus, and had been compelled to take refuge in Normandy. He returned, and was restored to his see in 1091, bringing with him, as is very probable, the plans for his new cathedral.[s] At Carileph's death in 1095, it would appear

beati Cuthberti stabilire decreverat. Unde positis fundamentis, monachorum habitacula ubi nunc habentur Dunelmi construere cæpit: sed heu, proh dolor! morte præventus, quod disposuerat perficere nequivit; quod tamen ejus successor perfecit."—Sim. Dunelm. L. iii. c. 22.

[s] It is sometimes positively asserted that he did so; but no direct authority for the statement is to be found either in Simeon's 'Historia de Dunelmensi Ecclesia' or elsewhere. Simeon asserts, indeed, that Bishop Carileph brought back with him gold and silver vessels and many books for the church. "At ille nequaquam vacuus rediit, sed non pauca ex auro et argento sacra altaris vasa et diversa ornamenta, sed et libros plurimos ad ecclesiam præmittere curavit. Nec multo post

that the work had advanced as far as the transept. The see remained vacant for four years, but during that time the monks continued the building, and completed it to the nave. The next bishop, Ralph Flambard (1099—1128), constructed the entire nave up to the roof. The erection of the nave roof, and the building of the western towers, are not recorded: but although a later date has been assigned to the roof of the nave, it seems most probable that both it and the western towers followed in regular succession. The Norman church, thus completed, consisted of a choir, the east end of which terminated in a triple apse; a low central tower; transepts with eastern aisles; and nave terminating in two western towers. During the building a tomb had been prepared in the cloister garth for the body of St. Cuthbert, which in 1104 was solemnly translated to its place at the back of the high altar. The building of the Norman cloister is not recorded. Some work may have been preserved in it older than the time of either Carileph or Flambard. The chapter-house, in the eastern walk, was built between the years 1133—1143.

Bishop Hugh de Puiset (he is generally called Pudsey,—Pudsiacus, 1153—1195) began a work, no doubt a Lady-chapel, at the east end of the cathedral, but was compelled to abandon it, owing to the failure of the foundations. He then built the Lady-chapel or

ecclesiam 98 anno ex quo ab Alduno fundata fuerat, destrui præcepit, et sequenti anno positis fundamentis nobiliori satis et majori opere aliam construere cæpit."—L. iv. c. 8.

Galilee at the west end, making the north door of the nave the principal entrance to the cathedral, but leaving the great western portal open so as to afford access to the nave from the Galilee. During the episcopate of Richard le Poore (1229—1237) the eastern transept or "Nine Altars" was begun, but was probably not completed until some time later. (Portions of it, or more probably the eastern bays of the choir and its aisles, which were rebuilt in order to connect them with the "Nine Altars" seem to have been still unfinished in 1278.) The central tower of the Norman church was altered by Bishop Farnham[h] (1241—1249), who constructed a lantern above its main arches. A belfry above the lantern was added by Prior Derlington (1258—1274). The short spire which capped this tower was set on fire by lightning in 1429; and although the mischief then done was repaired, the whole tower was in such a state of decay in 1456 that it became necessary to rebuild nearly the whole of its upper portion. This work was not completed until at least 1480.[i]

Bishop Langley (1406—1437) repaired and made important changes in the western Galilee, and continued the building of the cloisters, which had been commenced by his predecessor, Bishop Skirlaw (1388—1405). The dormitory, now the library, above the

[h] Raine's 'Brief Account,' p. 32.

[i] A letter written by the Prior in 1474 speaks of the "re-edification of our steeple, begun but not finished in default of goods, as God knoweth."—Raine.

western walk of the cloister, was the work of Bishop Skirlaw.

IV. In accordance with these dates, the cathedral exhibits a series of works passing from early, through later Norman, to the period of transition; and thence through Early English to the first Decorated. Not much seems to have been done at Durham during the Decorated period. The Perpendicular is illustrated by the central tower (such portions of it, at least, as are ancient), by the cloisters and the buildings above them. The most important works may be classed as follows:—

Earliest Norman—Crypts below the refectory on the south side of the cloister.

Norman (Bishop Carileph, 1093—1095)—Choir and aisles, except eastern bays and roof.

Norman (1095—1099)—Great transept.

Norman (Bishop Flambard, 1099—1128)—Nave and western towers.

Norman (1133—1143)—Remains of chapter-house.

Transition (Bishop Pudsey, 1153—1195)—Lady Chapel or Galilee.

Early English (from *circ.* 1230)—Eastern transept or Nine Altars.

Perpendicular (*circ.* 1400)—Dormitory, now the new library.

Perpendicular (1388—1437)—Cloisters.

Perpendicular (1457—1480)—Upper part of central tower.

Lesser works of extreme interest and of various

dates are scattered throughout the cathedral, and will be described as they occur. It does not appear that the building itself suffered greatly during the Civil War; but after the battle of Dunbar (1650) a body of Scottish prisoners were confined in it, and are said to have burnt the wood-work, and to have defaced the altar-screen and the monuments. At any rate, Bishop Cosin (1660—1672), who was consecrated to the see after the Restoration, entirely refitted the choir; and the screens and stall-work of this period remained in their original state until they were removed or altered in the years 1844 and 1846. Between 1778 and 1800 an important series of changes and of so-called "repairs" was carried out, partly under the superintendence of the destructive Wyatt, whose hand was so heavy against Salisbury and Hereford. The whole north side of the cathedral and the western towers were scraped, pared, and cut down so as to produce a new and smooth facing; thereby destroying altogether the character of the ancient work, and producing that shallowness of mouldings and of window jambs which at once strikes the visitor so painfully. It was at this time, also, that the ancient chapter-house was partly destroyed; and we can only be too thankful that the beautiful western Galilee did not share its fate. As at Salisbury Wyatt pulled down the unique campanile of the 13th century, so he proposed to pull down the equally unique Galilee of Durham with the intention of making a "drive" round the west end of the

cathedral. The central tower underwent a "restoration" between the years 1806—1809; but in 1859 was happily placed in the hands of Mr. G. G. Scott, by whom the upper part has been refaced. The turrets of the Nine Altars were taken down and rebuilt in 1812 and 1826. The south side of the nave was entirely new fronted in 1849; and, in that and preceding years, Perpendicular tracery was removed from the Norman windows of both nave and choir. Extensive changes were made in the arrangements of the choir in 1844, 1847, and 1848. The details of these and of other alterations will be pointed out in describing the cathedral. Since the commencement of the works at the end of the last century the outlay on the building has been very considerable, and great changes have been effected. It is to be regretted that ancient work, and those remains of ancient work which are the land-marks of the architectural student, have been in many instances ruthlessly swept away; and that so much should have been sacrificed with the object of obtaining, what the original builders never contemplated, an uninterrupted view from one end of the church to the other.

The prior and convent resigned their monastery December 31st, 1540. Before that time, as was the case at Canterbury, Worcester, Norwich, and other cathedral churches to which a great monastery was attached (an arrangement almost peculiar to England) the prior enjoyed all the rights, honours, and dignities

of an abbot.[k] The dean and chapter, who succeeded to all the buildings and possessions of the convent, received their charter of foundation, May 12th, 1541.

V. The view of the cathedral from the railway station, and that from Framwellgate Bridge (which are the first that present themselves to a stranger on entering the city), rank deservedly among the finest and most imposing architectural views in England. Independently of the historical associations that belong to "time-honoured" Durham—

> "Half house of God, half castle 'gainst the Scot,"

the scene alone, with the castle walls and the towers of the enormous church rising in close neighbourhood, and sheer with the face of the cliff; the rich masses of true greenwood that cluster below, and that line on either side the steep banks of the river; and the Wear itself, winding in a broad stream round the promontory,—the scene is one that can never be forgotten, and that, at all events, when under its immediate spell, inclines us to give the first position among English cathedrals to Durham. There are, indeed, only two that can fairly be compared with it. Lincoln on its "sovereign hill", crowning the city, and Ely, rising like some natural land-mark, rock or mountain, in the midst of the great level of the fens.

[k] Constituo . . . ut omnes futuri Priores Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ omnes libertates, dignitates, honores abbatis habeant, et sedem abbatis in choro sinistro obtineant.—Charter of Bishop William of St. Carileph, ap. Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres. (Surtees Soc.) Appendix, No. vi.

The actual approach to the cathedral is far less striking. Narrow streets lead upward to the Castle Green; on entering which the whole north side of the church (Frontispiece) opens at once, its great length but little relieved either by the projection of the main transept or by that of the Nine Altars; whilst a peculiar and painful effect is produced by Wyatt's paring of the stone at the end of the last century, and the consequent shallowness of the window openings. The exterior of the church has suffered greatly; and although it still retains its great Norman features, it can hardly be compared satisfactorily with the Norman exteriors of either Peterborough or Ely. The railing which bounds the churchyard marks the ancient limit between the precincts of the monastery and those of the castle, the latter being entirely under the jurisdiction of the bishop. Bishop Ralph Flambard (1099—1128), the builder of the nave, was the first to enclose the entire space from the choir to the castle keep, and to level the whole ground thus enclosed; clearing away all houses from it, as a protection against fire.[1]

VI. Leaving other details of the exterior for the present, we come to the *north door* (Plate I.), by which the cathedral has been entered since the epis-

[1] "A cancello ecclesiæ ad arcem usque castelli producta murum construxit longitudine. Locum inter ecclesiam et castellum, quem multa occupaverant habitacula, in patentis campi redegit planitiem, ne vel ex sordibus contaminatio, vel ex ignibus ecclesiam attingerent pericula."—Sim. Dunelm. Hist. Continuatio.

DURHAM CATHEDRAL WEST DOOR

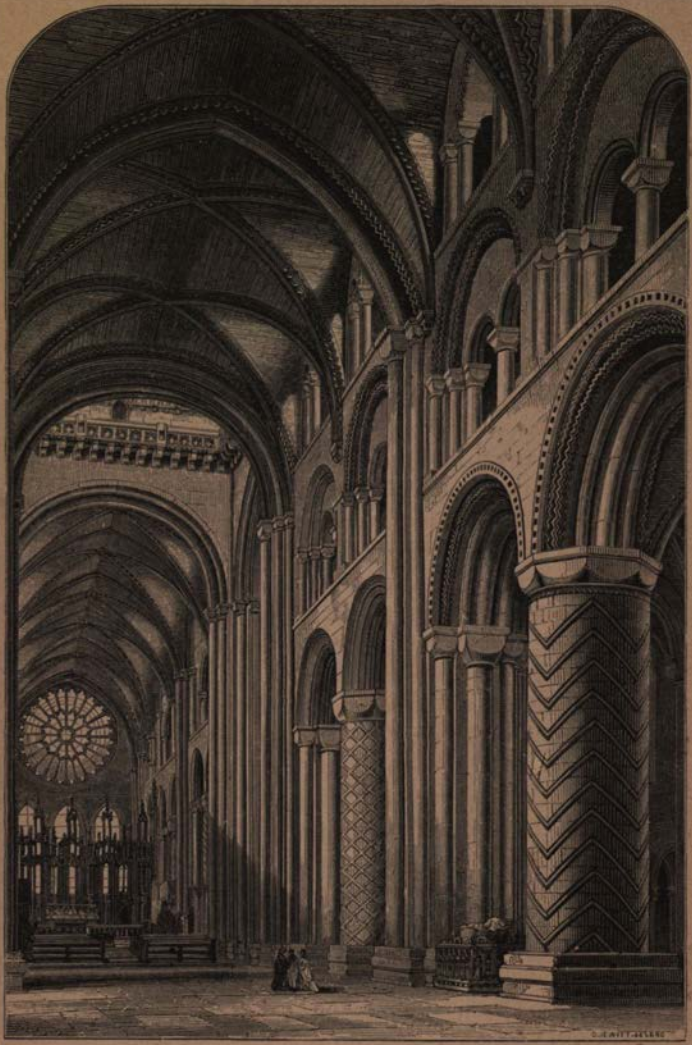
copate of Hugh de Puiset (1153—1197). As it now exists the north doorway consists of a late Norman portal, receding in five orders. This is surmounted by a pediment and flanked by turrets, capped by pinnacles. The whole of this work is modern, and seems to have been erected, probably under Wyatt's direction, when the entire north front was undergoing its course of degradation. The Norman portal was no doubt in existence before the accession of Hugh de Puiset, and dates in all probability from the time of Bishop Galfrid the Red (1133—1140. See *post*, § XII.) Before the year 1780 "the great semicircular arch was surmounted by a pediment, within which was a sharply pointed arch enclosing Early English panelling, and two round-headed windows giving light to two small rooms over the doorway." These rooms have been destroyed. (See § XI. The stair leading to them remains in the triforium). They were connected with the famous *sanctuary* of Durham; the chief surviving memorial of which is the grotesque head and ring of metal fastened against the north door. (See the title page). Both are late Norman, or rather Transition work; and the leafage on the ring has an Early English character which agrees very well with the Transition period of Bishop Hugh. The hollows for the eyes were probably filled either with crystals or enamel.[m] The culprit who sought the "grith" or

[m] It has also been suggested that the open eyes may have been contrived to emit light from within the church, so as to guide the culprit by night to the very spot of his safety.

"peace" of St. Cuthbert was safe as soon as he clasped the ring; and was immediately admitted to the church by two monks who watched day and night in the rooms over the portal."

VII. The arch of the Norman portal is, *within*, of two orders. The arches themselves are ornamented in zigzag, like those of the exterior, and rest like them on slender shafts, one of which has been richly carved with flowers, foliage, and intertwisted knots. These, like the ornaments of the portal immediately opposite, opening from the cloisters, resemble the

" "The culprit upon knocking at the ring affixed to the north door was admitted without delay, and after confessing his crime, with every minute circumstance connected with it, the whole of which was committed to writing in the presence of witnesses, a bell in the Galilee tower ringing all the while to give notice to the town that some one had taken refuge in the church, there was put on him a black gown with a yellow cross upon its left shoulder, as the badge of St. Cuthbert, whose *grith* or peace he had claimed. When thirty-seven days had elapsed, if no pardon could be obtained, the malefactor, after certain ceremonies before the shrine, solemnly abjured his native land for ever, and was straightway, by the agency of the intervening parish-constables, conveyed to the coast, bearing in his hand a white wooden cross, and was sent out of the kingdom by the first ship which sailed after his arrival."—Raine's 'Brief account of Durham Cathedral,' p. 23. During their stay in the church the culprits lived on the lower floors of the western towers. The 'Sanctuarium Dunelmense,' a register of the persons who at different times found protection here, has been published (together with that of Beverley) by the Surtees Society. In both churches it was the presence of the shrines—of St. Cuthbert and of St. John of Beverley—that gave the special right of sanctuary.



DURHAM CATHEDRAL. THE NAVE

work on the interior of the chapter-house door, the recorded work of Bishop Galfrid. (See *post*, § XII.)

If the exterior of the cathedral as seen from the Castle Green is to some extent disappointing, all feeling of the sort is removed when the *nave* (Plate II.) is entered. The Norman architecture here retains its full grandeur, and has happily undergone no serious restoration. It will be seen at once that in general character it differs materially from the Norman type found in the West of England, at Gloucester, and Tewkesbury, as well as from that of the Eastern Counties, the best examples of which are the great naves of Norwich, Peterborough, and Ely. The piers of Durham are more massive than those of Gloucester, and are not so lofty. They are, however, considerably loftier than those of the Eastern cathedrals where the three divisions—the main arcade, the triforium, and the clerestory—are of nearly equal size and height. At Durham, as at Gloucester, the main arcade is by far the most important division; but, since it is not carried to so unusual a height, greater space is obtained for the development of the upper stages, which at Gloucester are entirely sacrificed. Dr. Johnson, who visited Durham on his way into Scotland, has recorded the impression of "rocky solidity and indeterminate duration" which the cathedral left on his mind; and although the same feeling is produced in no small degree at Norwich, Peterborough, and Ely, it is certainly that which most

powerfully affects the stranger on entering the nave of Durham. The ornamentation of the piers, deeply indented with zigzags and lattice-work, is a peculiarity which, although found elsewhere, is nowhere brought into such prominence as in this cathedral and in some of the churches connected with it, especially Lindisfarne.

From the west end of the nave, these main features are well seen, and the view is one of extreme grandeur. The uniform character of the architecture, and the absence of all intrusive monuments or modern sculpture, greatly assist the impression. The want of ancient glass is, however, much felt; especially as that which fills the rose window in the Nine Altars (inserted in 1839) is of the worst and most unsatisfactory description. And although the eye is now drawn up the long vista to the altar screen, and beyond it to the windows of the Nine Altars, it is much to be desired that a screen between the nave and choir, such as that at Hereford or at Lichfield, should replace the heavier erection of Bishop Cosin's, removed in 1846. Such a screen, whilst it would add to the beauty and intricacy of this great view, would neither interfere in reality with its extent, nor in any way prevent the use of the nave for congregational purposes.

VIII. To examine in detail the Norman architecture of the cathedral it will be better to take it in the order in which it was constructed, beginning with

the choir, and passing through the transepts to the nave. Monuments, wood-work, and other objects of interest will be noticed after the architecture, which is so uniform, and so connected, that in describing it it is necessary to keep the great divisions of the church under one general view.

Although the work was interrupted by the death of Bishop Carileph in 1096, it is clear that the design which had been furnished by him was carried out by his successor with no variation except in ornament. Choir, transept, and nave, show the same general design,—a bay of two arches, the outer piers being huge masses of masonry constructed on a cruciform plan, with attached shafts; whilst the central, or secondary pier, also of huge size, is circular.° The triforium in each division of the bay consists of two sub-arches under an enclosing arch with blind tympanum; and the clerestory (of which the nave retains the original examples) has in each division a lofty circular arch with a narrow and lower one on either side. The height of the three divisions and the level of the vaulting are the same throughout the church. Vaulting shafts are carried up in front of the main piers a little above the spring of the triforium arches.

° Mr. Fergusson suggests that this alternation of the nave piers, round and shafted, was intended to support a hexapartite vault of stone. In this case Durham would be the solitary instance among English churches of this early period, in which a stone roof was certainly intended from the beginning.—Hist. of Architecture, vol. ii.

Bishop Carileph and Turgot, prior of the monastery, having themselves, as it would appear, assisted in preparing the foundation, laid the first stones of the choir in August, 1093.[p] A third stone was laid by Malcolm, King of Scots, then on his way to meet William the Red at Gloucester.[q] The bishop, it is recorded, undertook the cost of building the church, while the monks bore that of constructing their own offices.[r] The choir itself was probably completed in 1096, the year of Bishop Carileph's death; but it does not seem that the work, at that time, had advanced much, if at all, farther. Eastward the Norman choir, with its aisles, may have terminated in a triple apse; that in the centre projecting considerably beyond the other two.[s] When the building of the Nine Altars was

[p] "Est autem incepta M. xciij. Dominicæ incarnationis anno, pontificatus autem Willielmi 13, ex quo autem monachi in Dunelmum convenerant xj. tertio Idus Augusti, feria quinta. Eo enim die episcopus et qui post eum secundus erat in ecclesia Prior Turgotus cum cæteris fratribus primos in fundamento lapides posuerunt. Nam paulo ante, id est quarto Kal. Augusti feria sexta idem episcopus et prior facta cum fratribus oratione ac data benedictione, fundamentum cœperant fodere."—Sim. Dunelm. Hist. de Dunelm. Eccles., L. iv. c. 8.

[q] "Ecclesia nova Dunelmi est incepta . . . episcopo Willielmo, et Malcholmo rege Scottorum, et Turgoto Priore ponentibus primos in fundamento lapides."—Sim. Dunelm. De Gestis Regum Anglor., p. 218.

[r] "Igitur monachis suas officinas ædificantibus, suis episcopus sumptibus ecclesiæ opus faciebat."—Sim. Dun. De Dunelm. Eccles., iv. c. 8.

[s] This is the plan adopted by Dr. Raine in his 'St. Cuthbert'

undertaken, about the year 1230, the central apse, and those terminating the aisles (if they ever existed), were destroyed; and the point at which the main apse commenced is now marked at the pier of the fifth bay from the central tower, where the Norman work is replaced by early Decorated. The four western bays (counting as two if the main division is observed) are the original Norman.

The details of the Norman work will be best studied in the nave. The points of difference between the choir and the nave[t] are—that in the *choir* the arches are entirely without the zigzag ornament, and that there is no billet-moulding round those of the main arcade; that the clerestory, instead of having in each sub-bay three arches, with a wall passage, has only one round-headed window, without any passage (Perpendicular tracery was removed from these windows, on the north side, in 1847); that all the circular piers are ornamented with deeply-cut spiral lines, instead of having the ornament varied, as in the nave, where the spiral line does not occur; and that, in the sub-bays, a triple shaft, with a curiously connected capital and a plain square abacus, rises from the base of the

and 'Brief Account of Durham Cathedral.' There seems, however, to be no very definite proof that this was the ancient arrangement; and it has been suggested that the east end of the church may, with greater probability, have been circular—of one, not three apses—with a procession-path running round the choir.

[t] The easternmost bay of the nave, however, resembles the choir. See *post*, § x.

triforium to the clerestory, to support the vaulting,—or perhaps the flat wooden roof, which, like that at Peterborough, may have preceded the present vaulting."[u] In the main bay the great vaulting shafts rise to the roof, as in the nave.

The *choir aisles* retain their Norman work as far as the third bay from the west, where the apse may have commenced. The bay beyond is Decorated. The three westernmost windows in the north aisle were inserted in 1848, "after designs copied for the most part from windows to be found in the churches of Sleaford and Holbeach in Lincolnshire, and Boughton Aluph in Kent."[x] Those which they replaced are said to have been "decorated insertions in a debased style." Each bay of the aisles is divided by an arch with plain soffete. The vaulting is quadripartite.

In the *south aisle* all four windows, said to have been insertions of Prior Forcer (1341—1374) were, in 1842, "restored in every respect as they were found, except that their points, which in two instances broke through the string-course, were all placed on the same level under the string-course, and much rubbish, which filled the lower part of three of them to the height of five or six feet, was removed."

[u] It is certain that, whatever the original intention may have been, a stone vault was not placed on the choir or nave until some time after their completion.

[x] 'Record of Works done in and upon the Cathedral Church and Collegiate Buildings of Durham,' printed for the Chapter, 1858, 1864.

The vaulting of the choir itself is a work of the 13th century, and will be afterwards noticed.

IX. The see of Durham remained vacant for more than three years after the death of Bishop Carileph.[y] Ralph Flambard was consecrated to it in 1099. During the vacancy of the see the King (William II.) seized the revenues of the bishopric; but he took nothing from the monks;[z] who, leaving for the time the building of their own offices, proceeded with the work of the church, which Flambard found completed as far as the nave.[a] During this period the monks no doubt built the great transept; and not impossibly the main arches of the central tower, and the first sub-bay of the nave. At any rate the tower arches, and the beginning of the nave rather resemble the choir and transept than the rest of the nave, and seem to have been the work either of Bishop Carileph or of the monks.

The former is, perhaps, the more probable conjecture; since much of the work in the *transept* is of plainer and less finished character than the rest, and the resources of the monks were certainly less ample than those of the bishops. Each arm of the transept consists of two

[y] William of St. Carileph died at Windsor, Jan. 1, 1096. Ralph Flambard was consecrated June 5, 1099.

[z] "A monachis vero nil accipiens (rex Willielmus), imo largus et beneficus, nil oppressionis et injuriæ illis a quoquam irrogari permisit."—Sim. Dunelm. Continuatio, p. 59.

[a] "Monachi . . omissis officinarum ædificationibus, operi ecclesiæ insistunt, quam usque navem Radulphus jam factam invenit."—S. Dunelm. Continuatio, p. 61.

main bays; each bay being subdivided, as in the nave and choir; the arches opening into the nave and choir aisles forming one of the subdivisions. Each transept has an eastern aisle, into which there is an ascent of three steps. The central pier dividing the aisle from the transept is a mass of masonry with attached shafts as in the rest of the church. The piers between are rounded, and in the north transept are ornamented with spiral lines. In the south, one pier has spiral lines, the other zigzag. The brackets against all these piers are Perpendicular additions. On them were placed figures of the saints to whom the altars in the aisles were dedicated. The arches are quite plain, with rounded soffete mouldings. The vaulting of the aisles is plain quadripartite. The windows in the aisle of the south transept which are said to have been "pointed, and of various dates," were "replaced by Norman" in 1845. The arch in which these windows are set is, however, pointed, and appears (from the extent of modern work here it is difficult to speak with certainty) to indicate that some change was made in the Early English period. An arcade runs below the windows. The windows in the aisle of the north transept were "restored and glazed" in 1857. Plain triforium arches, and single round-headed clerestory windows, occur in each sub-bay above the arches of the aisles.

The west side of each transept has very plain triforium arches, with clerestory above. The Norman work here is the plainest and least ornamented in the

cathedral, and seems to indicate comparative want of means on the part of the builders. Triple vaulting shafts rise between the main bays. The north and south windows of the transepts are Decorated and Perpendicular insertions, to be afterwards mentioned. The arcade which runs beneath them resembles that in the nave and choir aisles. The square projections in the south-west and north-west angles of the transepts contain staircases ascending to the triforium. These squared "turrets" are less conspicuous and important here than in the Norman transepts of Gloucester, and far less so than in those of Worcester, where they are circular, and are made very prominent features.

It was no doubt the original intention to cover both transepts with a flat ceiling. The vaulting shafts on the east sides of each spring from semi-shafts set on the base of the triforium, and have plain capitals; with the exception of those dividing the main bay, which are double, and run quite to the roof, where they are lost. These are of no use whatever to the present work, and probably, as has been conjectured, had reference to the flat ceiling. Whether this was ever completed is uncertain. On the west sides the vault in the sub-bays is carried on brackets with grotesque heads, as in the nave. These belong to the present vaulting, which is a work of transitional character, and will be afterwards noticed. (See § XII.)

The Norman arches of the *central tower* are carried on massive piers with triple shafts on each face.

These shafts have plain cushioned capitals precisely like those of the vaulting shafts in the nave and choir. The arches are in three orders, each order carrying a plain roll moulding round the soffete. In each angle of the tower a shaft runs up to the base of the gallery above the arches, and an apparent continuation of this shaft is seen above the gallery rising to the present vaulting. The lower part of this shaft is Norman; the upper may be so as far as the Norman walls remain. It was probably connected with the original roofing of the tower.

The great and unusual height of these tower arches (70 feet to the crown, which is on a level with the vaulting of nave and choir), and their extreme plainness, render them very impressive, especially as seen from about half-way down the nave.

X. The *nave* consists of four main bays, each of which is subdivided as in the choir. As has already been said, the first bay from the central tower is plainer than the others, being without the zigzag ornament except in one of the triforium arches and in the clerestory. This bay, or at least a part of it, probably belonged to the earlier work. The rest of the nave was completed, up to the roof, by Bishop Ralph Flambard (1099—1128); who is said to have carried on the work with more or less zeal according as means were afforded by various oblations.[b] The

[b] "Circa opus ecclesiæ modo intentius, modo remissius agebatur, sicut illi ex oblatione altaris et cæmiterii vel suppetebat pecunia vel deficiebat. His namque sumptibus navem ecclesiæ

chronicler desires apparently to intimate that the bishop gave little from his own vast stores; but at any rate, owing either to the advance of style since the church had been commenced, or to other causes, the nave is distinguished by more enrichment than the rest of the cathedral, and the outlay on it must have been proportionately greater.

As in the choir, the main piers are constructed on a cruciform plan, having on each front a square pilaster with attached shaft, and smaller shafts in the angles. These shafts have very slight bases, and their capitals are plainly cushioned, with square abaci. In front, the vaulting shafts run nearly to the top of the triforium. The whole pier is raised on a massive squared plinth or base, cruciform, with a slightly projecting flat band of masonry dividing it. These plinths are the same in the sub-piers, except that for them they are squared and not cruciform. Their effect is very striking, and deserves especial notice. The sub-piers are circular, with octagonal capitals, plainly cushioned, and having square abaci. All are ornamented, each pier corresponding with that opposite. The pair nearest to the central tower are covered with incised lozenge-work, the next with zigzags, and the last with upright flutings. Close under the necks of the capitals of the zigzagged piers runs a narrow band of minute ornament, adding greatly to the effect. An exterior label of billet moulding runs round the arches of the

circumductis parietibus, ad sui usque testudinem erexerat."—Sim. Dunelm. Continuatio, p. 61.

three western bays. Close within the arch is a deeply-cut zigzag, and the soffetes have a triple roll moulding. A plain square cornice-string runs along the base of the *triforium*, which in each sub-bay consists of two arches under an enclosing arch with blind tympanum. The shafts and capitals of outer and inner arches are plain, cushioned, and with square abaci. The outer arch, which is of two orders, has the zigzag round each. The *clerestory* has in each sub-bay a lofty circular arch, with a lower and narrower one on either side. The principal arch is bordered by zigzag. This arch alone is pierced for light, and a wall passage runs between the window and the inner shafts. These windows were "restored"—those on the south side in 1849, and those north in 1850.

It has been suggested that the deeply-incised lines on the circular piers may have been filled either with metal-work or with coloured plaster. Of this, however, there are no traces; and it seems highly improbable that the lines of ornamentation would have been cut so deeply if they were afterwards to be filled up in any way. It is, however, somewhat remarkable that no trace whatever of colour has been found, after very careful examination, either on these piers or on the wall arcade of the aisles. The ornament on the piers is in itself striking and powerful, and is admirably in keeping with the massive grandeur of the architecture; but we might fully have expected to find that colour had in some way been applied to it. The zigzag is found incised on the round piers at

Lindisfarne, where the priory church was, although plainer, a miniature of Durham, and was in building at the same time. The church of Pittington, a short distance north-east of Durham, which was granted to the convent by Bishop Carileph, contains a small Transitional arcade, the piers of which are alternately fluted in upright lines, and ornamented with spiral bands, which project boldly, instead of being incised. Wherever Bishop Carileph got the design for his new cathedral, it would seem that this peculiar class of ornament formed part of it. It is almost entirely confined to the "bishopric" of Durham."[c]

The last main bay of the nave, westward, is connected with the western towers, which open into the nave aisles, and project but little beyond the aisles,

[c] Piers with twisted bands, resembling those at Pittington, exist in the ruined chancel of Orford church, in Suffolk. The church of Waltham Abbey is that which, in the south of England, most nearly resembles Durham, having, on its circular piers, zigzag and spiral incisions. The date of what remains of this church is a subject on which archæologists are by no means agreed. The work is unquestionably far simpler than that of Durham, and, so far, may be said to support a claim to higher antiquity. It must be remembered, however, that Bishop Walcher had been master of the schools at Waltham; and that the estate to which Waltham was appurtenant—that which Harold had received on the forfeiture of Athelstane the Stallere—was granted to him after he became Bishop of Durham. This grant gave Walcher some authority over the monastic foundation. William of St. Carileph succeeded to this estate. Rufus granted certain liberties to Waltham after Bishop William's death; and henceforth the connection with Durham ceases. The estate was not granted to Flambard. The later foundation of Henry II. gave Waltham to Augustinian canons.

north and south. The bay (or rather sub-bay) immediately east of the towers is of lesser span than any of the others, a result, possibly, of an attempt to unite some of the foundations of the earlier church of Ealdhun with those of Carileph's cathedral.[d] The west end of the nave was to some extent altered by Bishop Hugh de Puiset, when he built the Galilee. The great arch of the portal beneath the Decorated window is of his time, and indicates the reconstruction or the adaptation to the design of the new Galilee of the original western entrance. This portal remained open, however, and was the only means of communication between the Galilee and the church, until Bishop Langley (1406—1437) "repaired" the Galilee, and constructed his tomb therein (see § XVII.). The great portal was then closed, and the present doors at the end of the aisles were constructed. Flambard's wall arcade remains between the great portal and the doors.

XI. The *nave aisles* are of the same date and character as the nave itself. The vaulting is quadri-

[d] The design and extent of Ealdhun's church are altogether unknown. Carileph is said to have destroyed it from the foundations in the year before he began his own work. (Ecclesiam veterem quam Aldunus quondam episcopus construxerat, a fundamentis destruxit; et sequenti anno . . . . . aliam meliori opere incepit.—"De injusta vexatione Will. Episcopi," ap. 'Monasticon Angl.,' i. p. 249.) It is hardly probable that it was as large as Carileph's church; but the west front of both may have occupied the same position, and the latter may have been extended eastward.

partite; plain in the two easternmost bays, and ornamented with zigzag in the others. The main arches dividing the bays are plain and slightly stilted. The windows are plain, round-headed, and high in the wall. They are, however, in both aisles, modern "restorations;" those in the north aisle having been restored in 1848, when the Perpendicular tracery with which they had been filled was removed; and those in the south aisle in 1849, when the windows, which had been Decorated and Perpendicular insertions, only a few of them retaining "traces of their Norman origin," were replaced by new. Throughout the aisles, under the windows, is an interlacing arcade resting on small double shafts with cushioned capitals and square abaci. These shafts rest on high bases, which rise from a narrow plinth or stone seat. The arcade is continued round the walls of the western towers.

The *triforium* extends over the aisles both of nave and choir. It is approached by the stair turrets in the transept, and by staircases in the angles of the western towers. The half-arches which carry the roof, springing from the aisle walls, and supporting the wall of the clerestory, are in principle flying buttresses (although quite hidden from without), and deserve attention. In the triforium of the north aisle a small round-headed doorway remains close above the north porch, the steps leading downward from which were no doubt connected with the watching chambers already mentioned (§ VI.). These chambers were destroyed in 1780, and the staircase is now

nearly closed up. At either end of the triforium doorways open into the second story of the western towers. It deserves especial notice, that a larger arch, apparently not a mere arch of construction, remains in the eastern wall of this story of the towers, and projects beyond the exterior wall of the triforium, into which the arch (now entirely closed) could never have opened. The design of these arches is by no means easy of explanation, though it would appear certain that the first intention of the builders must have been changed as the work proceeded.*

The triforium is lighted by plain round-headed windows, one in each bay. In the choir these windows are of two small lights. On the south side of the nave, narrow lancets had been inserted, during the Early English period, between the original Norman windows. These were walled up during the restoration of the south front in 1849. "The new walling thus introduced," according to the architect's report, "was carried entirely through the thickness of the wall, and thereby adds materially to the strength of the building."†

XII. Thus far the work of the Norman cathedral, commenced by Carileph and finished by Flambard,

* These western towers may have been connected with the earlier church; or it is possible that they were begun simultaneously with the east end of the nave, and that the design was changed by Bishop Flambard's architect.

† 'Records,' &c., p. xl. The restoration of the S. front was carried out under the personal direction of Mr. Pickering, whose report is quoted above.

has been described without reference to later additions, alterations, or insertions. The first of these was of course the *vaulting* of the transepts and nave. The vaulting of the nave and choir aisles is Norman, of the same date as the rest of the work. It was no doubt completed as the main arcade and the walls of the aisles rose sufficiently high. On Flambard's death it is expressly intimated that the nave remained unroofed. It was possibly intended to cover both it and the transepts with a flat ceiling, but whether this intention was ever carried out is doubtful. The existing vault of the nave is quadripartite, with the main or dividing arches pointed. These arches, and the ribs of the vaulting, are enriched with zigzag; and the soffetes have a roll moulding, with a cavetto on either side. The vault is usually described as the work of Prior Melsonby (1233—1244), but there is no ancient authority for such a statement; and it seems far more probable that it was executed at a much earlier period, though perhaps some time after the completion of the rest of the nave. It is most unlikely that at a time when the beautiful Early English of the Nine Altars was in full progress, a vault should have been placed on the nave with such decided Norman features. Such an imitation of the older style would have been little in accordance with the usual practice of mediæval builders. The vaulting of the transepts is of the same general character, but is no doubt earlier than that of the nave. The main or dividing arches are here circular. The vaulting of the north transept has

no zigzag ornament, and may therefore have been first completed.

It is noticeable that in the vaulting of the nave the lowest stones of the zigzag project roughly, as if older work had been used up, or some change had occurred in carrying out the design.

The *portals* in the nave deserve careful attention. Besides the north door already mentioned (§ VII.) there are three; the great western portal, now opening to the Galilee, but originally the chief entrance to the cathedral; and, in the south aisle, the prior's door and the monks' door, opening to the east and west walks of the cloister. Of these, the *prior's door*, at the east end of the south aisle was greatly altered and enriched on the exterior in the transitional period (see § XXVII.); and the work agrees so closely with that of Bishop Hugh de Puiset in the castle and in the Galilee that it may safely be referred to him. But the inner side of this portal was untouched by Hugh, and displays Norman capitals which may be either Carileph's or Flambard's work.[s] The *monks' doorway* immediately opposite the north porch is very enriched and elaborate, and dates apparently between the Norman of Flambard and the transitional work of Hugh de Puiset. In fact this doorway, the northern portal (§§ VI. VII.), and the great western portal agree very closely with the ornamentation of the chapter-house,—the recorded work of Bishop Galfrid the Red (1133—1140), who suc-

[s] There is a single instance of a similar capital in the wall arcade west of the doorway.

ceeded Flambard;[h] and although they have frequently been assigned to Hugh de Puiset, they are most probably earlier. The monks' door, within, is of two orders, the outermost having double shafts. These are deeply zigzagged. The inner shaft is covered with lozenge work, with a leaf ornament in each lozenge.[i] The two inner arches are zigzagged; beyond is a label of rich leafed ornament, with small medallions at intervals. The capitals of the shafts are carved with knots, foliage, and animals. Their abaci, richly carved, are continued along the wall of the entire bay. The arch of the portal, of unusual height, rises into the sill of the Norman window above it.

The capitals of the shafts should be compared with those on the interior of the chapter-house door (see § XXVI. and Plate VII.), when it will be seen that the ornaments are identical. The leaf design on the moulding under the wall arcades of the chapter-house (see Plate VII.) is also to be found on one of the capitals of the monks' door. The north door, opposite (see

[h] The see was vacant for five years between the death of Flambard (1128), and the accession of Galfrid (1133). See Part II.

[i] The magnificent Bible, in four volumes, given by Bishop Hugh de Puiset to the monastery, and probably the work of one of the Durham monks, contains (vol. iv. pp. 1-10) the Eusebian tables under an illuminated arcading of great beauty This arcading, which is interlaced, precisely resembles that on the aisle walls of the cathedral, from which it may have been copied. One of the shafts, with flowers in lozenge work, is a facsimile of that in the monks' doorway.

§§. VI. VII.), so nearly resembles the monks' portal that it must be of the same date; and the *western portal*, which now opens to the Galilee, is very similar. Its zigzagged arch is surrounded by a leaf ornament, with medallions at intervals. It would seem that all these portals were completed during the episcopate of Galfrid the Red.

XII. The *Nave* calls for little farther notice. The great *west window* was inserted by *Prior Forcer* (1341—1374) toward the end of his priorate. It is to some extent a copy of the west window of York, the beautiful work of Archbishop Melton (1317—1340). But the later work of Durham can in no way compare with the grace and beauty of the York window; and there is a certain want of harmony in the lines, varied and flowing as they are. This window has been filled (1868) with stained glass by *Clayton and Bell*, representing a Tree of Jesse. The glass is the gift of the present Dean, and is unusually good. Drawing and colour are alike excellent. The glass in the western windows of the aisles was placed there in 1848, and represents in the north window (by *Willement*) St. Cuthbert, in the south (by *Wailes*) the Venerable Bede.

The existing pavement dates only from the last century; but the *cross of blue stone*, which extends across the bay immediately below the great north door, is said to mark the limit beyond which women were not allowed to advance into the church of the

stern St. Cuthbert.[k] The present *font* is modern, of Norman design, with medallions representing scenes from the life of St. Cuthbert, copied from a MS. in the possession of Sir John Lawson, of Brough. The font is, however, altogether unworthy of so great and wealthy a church; it replaced one of Bishop Cosin's time, the lofty oaken canopy of which now stands beneath the south-west tower.

The few *monuments* in the nave are—in the *south aisle*, that with a bust, of Sir GEORGE WHELER, rector of Houghton-le-Spring and canon of Durham. He died in 1724, and was one of the earlier English travellers in Greece and Asia Minor. He was buried by his own desire near the tomb of Bede in the Galilee. Under the second and third bays from the

[k] The origin of St. Cuthbert's hatred of women (if there was any beyond the ordinary monastic feeling) is not certain. There was a tradition that he had been falsely accused by a daughter of a Pictish king. The evil life of the monks and nuns at Coldingham is also said to have influenced him; but there is no reference to either of these stories in the life by Bede, or in the earlier anonymous life. It is certain that no woman was allowed to pass beyond the blue cross in the nave, or to enter the precincts of the monastery. In 1153, Helisend, a damsel in attendance on the Queen of David of Scotland, entered the church in the disguise of a monk; but was discovered (it is said by St. Cuthbert himself) and ignominiously expelled. Her crime was considered so great that she was afterwards compelled to become a nun (Reg. Dun., cap. 74). In 1333, Queen Philippa, who had accompanied Edward III. to Durham, and had been received at the Prior's house, was obliged to rise from her bed at night, and to escape half-dressed to the castle.

east, between the nave and the south aisle, are two monuments of NEVILLES, greatly dilapidated; their shattered condition being due, it is said, to the Scots imprisoned in the cathedral after the battle of Dunbar. The most easternly monument is of Edward III.'s time; and is probably that of Ralph Lord Neville, the conqueror in the battle of Neville's Cross (see § XXIII.), who died in 1347, and was the first layman interred within the walls of the cathedral; the other is that of John Lord Neville and Matilda Percy his wife—the daughter of Hotspur. On the sides of the altar tomb are small figures of their children (one of whom is placed with the back outwards, and probably died during the lifetime of the parents), much shattered. (It is said, but very questionably, that the heads of these figures were of silver, and were carried off by the Scots.) These tombs have been very rich, but are too much dilapidated to be at present of much importance. The first three bays (from the east) of the adjoining aisle were enclosed as the Neville Chantry, and marks of the screen are visible on the piers. The monuments seem to have been originally within this chantry; on the pavement of which remains the tomb slab with matrix of the brass of Robert Neville, Bishop of Durham, died 1457.

Opposite the Neville tombs, on the north side of the nave, is the monument with half-recumbent figure, of Dr. James Britton, for 30 years master of the Durham Grammar School, died 1836.

XIII. In the *south transept*, the great south *window*

is a Perpendicular insertion, after 1400. Its stained glass illustrated the *Te Deum*. Some fragments remain in the lower panels; but the most conspicuous figures are those of St. Aidan, a king, a queen, and a prior, in the tracery.[1] The clock, which rises above the sill, was erected by the chapter in 1632, but was removed during the troubles of the Civil War, and replaced in 1655. A case of carved oak, much of which was of the time of Prior Castell (1494—1519), formerly enclosed the clock, and on the panelled doors was a curious perspective view of the interior of the cathedral. This was entirely painted over about the year 1778; and in 1845 the whole case was removed.

The altars in the three bays of the transept aisle were raised on a step which extends the whole length of the aisle; and were dedicated,—the most southernly to St. Faith and St. Thomas; that in the middle to Our Lady of Bolton (the tithes of Bolton in Northumberland were assigned to it), and the third to Our Lady of Houghall (the estate of Houghall maintained it). The bracket on the pier fronting the middle altar is charged with the arms of Neville, and on it stood an image of the Virgin, "which was made to open, and exhibit a gilded image of our Saviour, holding in his hands a crucifix of pure gold. This was the crucifix to which the monks annually crept on

[1] This window will shortly (1868) be filled with stained glass by *Clayton and Bell*, in memory of the Venerable Charles Thorp, Archdeacon of Durham and Warden of the University The subject is to be the *Te Deum*.

their knees in "the choir during the solemnities of Good Friday."[m]

Against the wall on the west side of the transept is CHANTREY'S fine monument of Bishop BARRINGTON (1791—1826). It is a very excellent and simple kneeling figure, in cream-coloured marble against a whiter ground. The inscription runs, "This public tribute is (1833) erected to the memory of Shute Barrington, 35 years Bishop of Durham, who died March 25th, 1826, in the 92nd year of his age, and 57th of his episcopate. In his works of piety and munificence, he being dead yet speaketh."

XIV. In the *north transept* the north window was the work of Prior FORCER (1341—1374), and like the west window of the nave, is of late Decorated character. It was restored by Prior Castell (1494—1519). It is very large, filling the whole bay, and has a double plane of tracery below the transoms, along which is a passage. It was called the window of the "Four Doctors," from the figures of SS. Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, and Jerome, which it contained.

The altars in this transept were dedicated (beginning northward) to St. Nicholas and St. Giles; to St. Gregory; and to St. Benedict. Before the first of these altars was buried Prior Forcer—a great benefactor to the fabric. The brass which covered his tomb has entirely disappeared.

[m] 'Description of the Auntient Monuments,' &c.

In the aisle of this transept is a monument, designed by Rickman, for the Rev. John Carr, 22 years Head Master of Durham Grammar School, died 1833.

XV. Before the Reformation the nave was separated from the eastern part of the church by a screen of masonry extending between the western piers of the central tower; by the screen of the Neville Chantry in the south aisle; and in the north aisle by a screen of woodwork carried up almost to the groining of the aisle, the doors of which were only opened for the passage of processions. In front (westward) of the central screen was an altar called "Jesus' Altar;" having above it, on the wall of the screen, the Life and Passion of Our Lord, carved and gilt; above again, figures of the Apostles; and on the parapet, "the most famous rood in all the land," with the figures of the Blessed Virgin and St. John, supported by archangels. "For the beauty of the wall," says the author of the old 'Description,' "the stateliness of the picture, and the liveliness of the painting, it was thought to be one of the grandest monuments in the church."

At what time these screens were removed is not certain; but they were either gone altogether or were in a ruinous condition when Bishop Cosin came to the see in 1660. The stalls and woodwork of the choir had also disappeared; and, it is said, had been burnt by the Scottish prisoners kept in the cathedral after the battle of Dunbar. Bishop Cosin entirely refitted the choir; and erected a wooden screen between the

eastern piers of the tower. This screen, above which the organ was placed, was removed in 1847, and the choir is now entirely open to the nave.

Other changes had before been made in the choir. In 1844 a high wooden screen described as "of indifferent workmanship, probably of James II.'s time" (this screen was really of much earlier date, see *post* § XXIII.), "which surrounded three sides of the sanctuary, and much obstructed the view of the altar-screen from the Nine Altars," was removed. In 1846 the altar-screen itself was restored; and the stall work, which up to that time had remained as it had been left by Bishop Cosin, was altered. The tabernacle work was cut into pieces and placed between the piers, instead of in front of them; a change by which "twenty-two stalls were gained, and about thirty sittings."

XVI. The *choir*, without its screens, is now so completely open, that much of its proper character is lost. But it is impossible to remain unimpressed by the grandeur of its Norman work, or by the great beauty of the early Decorated architecture of its eastern end; although the mixture of styles deprives this part of the cathedral of that solemn uniformity which is so striking in the nave.

The choir consists of five bays (or of two main Norman bays, and one Decorated). The two westernmost are filled by the stalls; the two beyond form the presbytery, and in the third stands the altar. Until 1848 an ascent of two steps at the end of the stalls

marked the division between the choir proper and the presbytery. The pavement was then lowered, and the steps were removed to their present position in the most eastern bay.

Carileph's choir terminated, as has already been said, in a circular apse. In this apse stood in its shrine the coffin of St. Cuthbert, translated thither by Bishop Flambard in 1104 from its temporary tomb in the cloister garth.[n] In front of the shrine, and across the chord of the apse, stood the high altar. The vault of the apse had cracked, and was threatening ruin when the work of the Nine Altars was commenced by Bishop le Poore about 1235. This is expressly stated in an Indulgence granted in that year by the Bishop of Ely to all who should contribute to the fabric :[o] but the apse does not appear to have been

[n] Besides Flambard and his chaplain, William of Corbeuil, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, there were present on this occasion Ralph, abbot of Seez, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, the abbots of St. Alban's, St. Mary's at York, and Selby, and Alexander brother of Edgar, king of Scots. A full account of the translation will be found in Raine's 'St. Cuthbert,' pp. 75 *seq.* It was at this time that the body was examined, and found (according to Reginald of Durham, and the narrative in the Acta Sanctorum) entire and incorrupt. See *post*, § XXIII.

[o] "Supra sacrum illius (S. Cuthberti) sepulchrum devocio veterum lapideas erexit testudines quæ jam nunc plenæ fissuris et rimis dissolutionem sui indicant imminere, adeoque propinquam minantur ruinam ut quicunque molem illam tam suspecte pendentem aspexerit, veraciter dicere possit, quoniam terribilis et tremendus est locus ille." Indulgence of Hugh Norwold, Bishop of Ely (1229-1255). Printed from the original

taken down until some time later. It is evident from the character of the architecture that the existing eastern bays of the choir and its aisles were not built until after the completion of the Nine Altars; and it may very well have been this part of the "new fabric" of the church for the "more quickly finishing" of which Indulgences were granted in 1277 and 1278. The work is Early Decorated, of great beauty, and of somewhat unusual ornamentation. A flat massive pier, or rather wall—possibly a portion of the wall of the Norman apse—divides the last Norman bay from that beyond it. This wall has a rich blind arcade of four arches, with shafts, alternately of marble, resting on heads; and below is a smaller arcade with foliated arches. The shafts, which have capitals of foliage, are ringed half-way up. On either side, under the lower arcade, are two square aumbries.

The outer mouldings of the arches east of this wall-pier are curiously stilted, owing to want of space. The inner moulding has the dog-tooth;—here more decidedly than in the south of England resembling a lily or cross-flower. The hood-moulding of the arch, and the base of the triforium above, are filled with detached patches of foliage and animals very well

in the Durham Treasury in Raine's 'St. Cuthbert,' Appendix, p. 7. In 1243, Bishop Clement of Dunblane, in granting an indulgence, declares that the fabric of the church "threatens a horrible fall," Raine, p. 101. The "Nine Altars" must have been commenced long before this date, but the apse may have been yet standing.

worth notice. The base of the triforium rises into a square, so as to avoid the pinnacles of the wall arcade; and then descends to join the base of the Norman triforium. The Decorated triforium is remarkable and very beautiful. An arch, almost round-headed, rising a little above the head of the Norman triforium, encloses three sharply-pointed arches enriched with dog-tooth, and resting on shafts with carved capitals. In the tympanum of the main arch blind quatrefoils with foliage, and bosses of foliage below. The outer moulding has squares of leafage, and heads at the angles. Close within the triple triforium arch is a second plane of two pointed arches, with the central shaft so placed as to appear in the middle of the outer central arch, when seen directly in front. The clerestory is of two pointed arches, enriched with dog-tooth, and carried on grouped shafts, the central group being entirely of marble. A passage runs between these arches and the windows, which are pointed, with a plain circle in the tracery.

The *vaulting* of the choir was the work of Prior Hoton (1289—1307), and was evidently a continuation of the Decorated work below. It is quadripartite, enriched with small bosses of foliage, with the dog-tooth in the mouldings of the main arches, and small squares of foliage in the others. On the central boss appears the Holy Lamb. Throughout the choir a Decorated moulding runs round the Norman clerestory; and the capitals of leafage which now terminate some of these mouldings in the triforium stage, seem

to have had (or may have been intended to have) shafts of marble resting on the triforium base. A very fine group of triple vaulting shafts, the two outer of marble, with carved capitals, rest on brackets, north and south, in the wall-pier between the Norman and Decorated bays. The brackets (especially that north with a lion and griffin fighting) are singularly fine. The capital of the group of triple shafts on this side has an attack upon geese and cocks by animals which have too round heads to be foxes. Above (and in the first Norman bay) is (north) a figure of an angel, the left hand, which has held something, now broken off, raised, the head looking downwards, under a foliated canopy. On the south side the figure is that of an angel, holding a crown in the left hand, the head turned upward.

The great eastern arch, behind the altar, rises on lofty shafts of alternate stone and marble, with capitals of very beautiful leafage. The arch itself is much enriched with dog-tooth. Across it extends the *altar screen*, erected in 1380. It cost 700 marks, of which the Lord Neville of Raby contributed 500. It was brought from London, having possibly been worked in France (at least such is the tradition); and was sent at Lord Neville's expense by sea to Newcastle, whence it was conveyed to Durham. Prior Berrington employed seven masons for nearly a year in erecting this screen, maintaining them at his own cost. The whole work was in a shattered condition—some of the pinnacles having been replaced in wood—before its resto-

ration in 1846, at a cost of 637*l.* The screen is light and graceful; but its present condition gives but a faint idea of its original appearance, covered with rich colour and gilding, and with its niches filled with sculptured figures in alabaster. On either side are doors leading to the platform of the shrine; having, in their spandrils, the shield of Neville.[p]

Against the screen, and immediately over the altar, a piece of sculpture, designed after Leonardo da Vinci's "Last Supper," was placed in 1849. The cost was 100*l.* This altar piece is a most prominent object in the general view from the nave; but it can hardly be said to be in keeping with the beautiful screen against which it is placed; nor, even if it be admitted that the painter's design may legitimately be copied in sculpture, is the work at all satisfactory.

The wood-work of the *stalls*, the work of Bishop Cosin (1660—1672), deserves notice from its curious imitation of Perpendicular forms and designs. This is most apparent in the tabernacle work, and in the finials of the lower stalls.

[p] "Et . . . ad excitationem Johannis Prioris et . . . monachorum, dedit (Dominus Johannes de Nevill) ad illud opus super altare quod vocatur La Reredos quincentesimas libras seu marcas; et Prior et officiarii 200 marcas. Et fecit Londoniæ in cistulis includi, et suo sumptu usque ad Novum Castrum per mare in nave transnari: et Prior usque Dunelmum fecit illud carriari." Prior Fossor, in whose time the altarpiece arrived, died before it could be erected. His successor, "Robertus Berrington, invenit vii. cementariis victualia fere per annum ponendo illud opus."—*Will. de Chambre*, cap. 2.

. The modern *pulpit*, designed by Salvin, is placed at the east end of the north stalls. The *organ*, beyond the pulpit, was built by Father Smith about 1684; but has been greatly altered and added to. It contains 34 stops.

The only *monument* in the choir stands opposite the pulpit. It is that of Bishop Hatfield (1345—1381. See Part II.), erected by himself during his lifetime, and having the episcopal throne above it[q] (Plate III.). The effigy of the bishop, fully vested, reclines on an altar tomb beneath a canopy supported by round arches with foliated pendants. The groining has very rich masses of leafage. The shield of Bishop Hatfield (azure, a chevron or between 3 lions, argent) occurs in the spandrils of hanging foliage, and is repeated constantly on the sides of the tomb. The stair to the throne ascends from the east end, and is lined with a foliated arcade, in which are placed brackets for figures. At the back of the throne, a mass of tabernacle work rises to the crown of the Norman arch.

Immediately in front of the steps ascending to the altar is the matrix of an enormous brass, from which all the metal has been removed. It is generally

[q] Similar arrangements, in which the tomb of the benefactor was placed in close connection with the part of the church he had constructed, were not uncommon at this period. Bishop Langley's tomb in the Galilee served as a base for the altar of St. Mary and the Consistory Court. In the church of All Saints, at Maidstone, in Kent, the fine sedilia were erected by John Wootton (died 1417), the first master of the college. His canopied tomb forms the back of the sedilia.

BISHOP'S THRONE. DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

assigned to Bishop Lewis de Beaumont (1318—1333), cousin of Isabella, Queen of Edward II. It agrees closely with the description of Beaumont's brass in the 'Auntient Monuments of Durham;' but the canopy work seems to be of later date, and it has accordingly been suggested that this is really the brass of Bishop Skirlaw (1388—1405), who is buried in the north choir aisle (see § xxv.). The stone had long been hidden beneath the pavement of the choir, and was discovered during the alterations of 1848.'

' The steps and pavement of the choir have been so altered that it is now difficult to point out the exact position of the ancient 'Paschal' set up in the choir from Maunday Thursday till Wednesday after Ascension Day. "It stood upon a four square plank of wood, against the first grees or step behind the three basons of silver that hung before the high altar . . . At every corner of the plank was an iron ring, whereunto the feet of the Paschal were adjoined, representing the pictures of four flying dragons, as also the pictures of the four Evangelists above the top of the dragons underneath the nethermost boss, all supporting the whole Paschal: and in the four dragons' heads have been four crystal stones, as appear by the holes: and on every side of the four dragons there is curious antique work, as beasts, men upon horseback, with bucklers, bows, and shafts, and knots, with broad leaves spread upon the knots, very finely wrought, all being of the finest and most curious candlestick metal, or latten metal, glittering like gold, having six candlesticks or flowers of candlestick metal coming from it, three on either side, whereon stood in every of the said flowers or candlesticks a taper of wax: and on the height of the said candlestick or Paschal of latten was a large pretty flower, being the principal flower, which was the seventh candlestick. The Paschal, in latitude, contained almost the breadth of the quire; in longitude it extended to the height of the lower vault, whereon stood a long piece of wood, reaching within

XVII. Taking the architecture of the cathedral, as far as possible, in its due order, we return to the *Galilee* at the west end of the nave, before entering the Nine Altars.

Bishop Hugh de Puiset (1153—1195) commenced (how soon after his elevation to the see we are not told) a "new work," probably intended for a Lady Chapel, at the east end of the cathedral. Marble columns and bases were brought from beyond sea; but the walls had scarcely begun to rise when ruinous fissures appeared in them, a "manifest sign that the work was not acceptable to God or to His servant Cuthbert."[s] The cause was no doubt the same defective foundation which, in the course of the next century, produced the subsidence of the walls of the choir apse, and the "impending ruin" of its vault (see § XVI.). Abandoning his first intention, therefore, Bishop Hugh (no doubt using the materials collected for his eastern chapel) began another "work" at the west end, "into which women might lawfully enter;" so that although they could not be allowed personally to approach the more holy places, they might derive some comfort from the distant contemplation of them.

a man's length to the uppermost vault or roof of the church, upon which stood a great, long squared taper of wax, called the Paschal; having a fine convenience through the said roof of the church to light the taper. In conclusion the Paschal was esteemed to be one of the rarest monuments in England."—'Description of the Auntient Monuments,' &c.

[s] Gaufridus de Coldingham, cap. 7.

[t] Omisso que opere illo, aliud in occidentem inchoavit, in

This work was the existing Galilee; so called from a reference to "Galilee of the Gentiles," as somewhat less sacred than the rest of the cathedral.[a] But it was specially intended that it should serve as a Lady Chapel.

An architect named "Richard the Engineer" (Ricardus Ingeniator), was employed by Bishop Hugh in building the Castle of Norham on the Tweed, and no doubt in other works undertaken in the earlier part of his episcopate. Another architect, "William the Engineer," is mentioned at a later period, and perhaps succeeded Richard (who was a layman). The Galilee, in all probability, was built about the year 1175;

quo muliebris licite fieret introitus; ut quæ non habebant ad secretiora sanctorum locorum corporalem accessum, aliquod haberent ex eorum contemplatione solatium. — Coldingham, cap. 7.

[a] "From whatever reason, it was called the Galilee immediately after its erection, as we gather from the making on its altar, before 1186, of a charter by the lady of Ranulph de Dyttneshall to S. Cuthbert and Pudsey himself."—W. H. D. Longstaffe "on Bishop Pudsey's buildings," in 'Transactions of the Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland,' 1862. Porches called "Galilees" exist at Lincoln and at Ely, where they seem to have been used partly for teaching, and partly for courts of law. Both are later than the Galilee of Durham. That at Lincoln dates early in the 13th century. It is cruciform, and is attached to the W. side of the south transept. Early documents connected with the cathedral refer to it as 'Curia vocata le Galilee.' The Galilee at Ely was built by Bishop Eustace, (1198-1215), and is more advanced in character than that of Lincoln. It is called the "Nova Galilæa" in the 'Hist. Eliensis,' Ang. Sac. i. p. 634.

when Richard must have been still living.[x] Hugh de Puiset, a natural son of the bishop, and chancellor to Lewis VII., King of France, died in 1189, before his father, and was buried in the Galilee.[y]

There was no difficulty with the foundations of the Galilee. It rests upon a solid rock (Plate IV.), "which rises nearly to the pavement in the adjoining end of the nave." At the west end the rock has been built up and strengthened, so that the wall is flush with the face of the cliff, rising above the river. The Galilee is continued in a line with the walls of the nave, and with the inner buttresses of the western towers. It is five bays in width, from north to south, and four bays from east to west. Bishop Hugh's original design was considerably altered, it should here be said, by Bishop Langley (1406—1437) in the 15th century; and in 1828 it was fitted up for an evening service. Wyatt had condemned it in 1796; and when Dean Cornwallis visited Durham in the summer of

[x] The names of these architects were first pointed out by Mr. Longstaffe, in the paper quoted above. The approximate date of the Galilee was also conjectured by him, partly by a comparison with the chapel in the Keep of Newcastle, which dates about 1177; and which, although the style of it has a remarkable resemblance to that of the Galilee, is certainly of more advanced character; and partly from a passage in Reginald of Durham, which describes an accident to a young man in the court of St. Cuthbert, who, about 1175, was employed in carrying stones to the top of the wall of a chapel there to be constructed. This chapel can only have been the Galilee.

[y] Gul. Nieub., L. v. c. ix.

INTERIOR OF GALILEE, WITH THE TOMB OF "VENERABLE BEDE."
DURHAM CATHEDRAL

that year the roof had already been stripped of its lead. The Dean, who otherwise would perhaps have endured the destruction of the Galilee with an untroubled conscience, was induced to interfere by the strong remonstrance of the Society of Antiquaries, to whom Carter had represented the case. The Galilee was saved; but the Dean's frequent boast that "he had saved it" was somewhat inaccurate.

XVIII. In its original state, the Galilee was a very fine and unusual example of Transition-Norman; and such, in effect, it still remains, in spite of Langley's alterations. Before these were made, the arches were carried on two slender shafts of Purbeck marble, instead of on four shafts—the later being of stone—as at present. The arches themselves are much enriched with zigzag between the mouldings. In the wall above the arcade of the central aisle are some round-headed windows, forming a clerestory which, perhaps, supplied the only light before the present windows, all of later date, were inserted in the walls. Bishop Hugh's shafts in their original condition remain all along the west side. On comparing them with the others it will be seen that the capitals were elongated, and that when Langley erected the additional stone shafts he fitted these capitals to them. In the north aisles, the abaci of some of the original capitals remain untouched. The volutes of the capitals are plain, but very graceful, indicating a decided approach to Early English forms; as indeed does the whole chapel in its lightness and delicacy. The slender

piers, the light arches with their enrichment of zigzag, and the intricacy resulting from the five aisles, give the Galilee a character which is perhaps unique in English architecture, and recalls (although there is no similarity in the details) impresions of Saracenic work in Spain or Sicily.[s] Traces of red colouring remain on portions of the vaulting.

In its present state the Galilee is lighted by four windows on the south side, three on the north, and one at the west end of each aisle. These are insertions dating from the latter half of the thirteenth century, with the exception of three—the windows at the west end of the central and adjoining aisles. These are Perpendicular, and were no doubt Langley's work. In the west wall are two recesses—both of Perpendicular date. That in the centre is formed by a wide open arch, in which are two small squared openings—windows in the high face of the Galilee. The other recess forms a small room, entered by a pointed door, and having a singular arch in the interior east wall. This also has two small windows. It was, probably, as Raine suggests, a vestry or sacristy. The door on

[s] The chapel of the Keep of Newcastle has, as has already been said, a striking resemblance to the Galilee, but in details rather than in general design. "The volutes of the Galilee are plainer, and the vaulting at Newcastle looks very late, showing small curved pyramids of four faces, which by an increase of the number of sides became the nutmeg ornament of the great arches in Darlington church, a decoration not uncommon in the north, but very rare in the south."—W. H. D. Longstaffe, Trans. of Arch. Soc. of Durham,' 1862, p. 3.

the north side was the original entrance to the Galilee; but this was closed by Bishop Langley with solid masonry, and was only reopened in 1841. Before Langley's alterations the great west portal of the nave was the means of communication between the nave and the Galilee. Bishop Langley closed this portal, and opened the two doors which now lead into the nave aisles. These doors are charged with his shield.[a] The northern door, it should be noticed, is pierced through an arched recess ornamented with dog-tooth, dating from about 1200. This was probably a recess for an altar, and must have been constructed some time after the completion of the Galilee. Immediately in front of the main portal Langley constructed a tomb for himself, having above it an altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, at or adjoining which the Consistory Court was held until the Reformation. It is to this that the inscription above the arch refers,—"Judicium Jehovæ est. Domine Deus da servo tuo cor intelligens ut judicet populum tuum et discernat inter bonum et malum." The new work is fitted somewhat awkwardly to the western portal; and it would seem that Langley used here portions of the Norman arcade which he broke through in order to form the doors into the aisles. The altar was surrounded by a wooden screen-work, removed when the great portal was re-opened in 1846.

[a] The cost of Bishop Langley's "repair" of the whole Galilee was 499*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* (*Will. de Chambre*, cap. vi.). This did not include his tomb.

On either side of this portal were altars dedicated (north) to "Our Lady of Pity," and (south) to the Venerable Bede. The recessed arch in which stood the first altar still displays some remarkable painting, no doubt of Bishop Hugh's time. The soffete is covered with a pattern not uncommon in MSS. of that date, having a leaf or flower, somewhat resembling the flower of the grey water-flag, arranged within heart-shaped medallions. The back of the arch shows folds of yellowish drapery; and at the sides are figures of a king and bishop—usually described as those of Richard Cœur de Lion and Bishop Hugh—but possibly intended to represent St. Cuthbert and St. Oswald.[b] The dress of both is, of course, that of the end of the 12th century, when the paintings were made, and deserves attention.

XIX. Traces of the altar of Bede remain in the bay south of the main portal; and in front stands the tomb which still, in all probability, covers the remains of the Venerable Bede. It is a perfectly plain, flat, altar tomb, bearing on it the famous inscription "Hâc sunt in fossâ Bædæ venerabilis ossa," the well-known story being that the epithet "venerabilis," from that time always attached to Bede, was supplied by an angel during the sleep of the monk who was unable to complete his line.[c]

[b] Neither figure has a nimbus, however. The King, at any rate, cannot be Richard, but may be Henry II. The Galilee was built before Richard's accession; the face somewhat resembles that of Henry's effigy at Fontevraud.

[c] The date of this story is not clear. The epithet of "Vener-

The relics of Bede were stolen from Jarrow by Elfred, the sacrist of Durham, about 1022,[d] and were

able" was certainly given to Bede early in the century following his death, which occurred in 735. The inscription on the shrine which Bishop Hugh caused to be made for the relics, ran—

> "Continet hæc theca Bædæ Venerabilis ossa;
> Sensum factori Christus dedit, æsque datori.
> Petrus opus fecit, præsul dedit hoc Hugo donum;
> Sic in utroque suum veneratus utrumque patronum."

The verses placed over the tomb of Bede at Jarrow, as given by Malmesbury, do not contain, any more than another epitaph printed by Mabillon, a line at all resembling the traditional one, which Bishop Hugh's inscription either preserved or originated.

Bede was never formally canonized; and the title of "Saint," which he received by general consent soon after his death, has been almost universally supplanted by that of "Venerable." His name is inserted in the Roman Martyrology; and he has a special office on October 29,—perhaps the day of the translation by Bishop Hugh.

[d] See the story in Simeon, Hist. de Dunelm. Eccles., L. iii. cap. 7. Elfred the priest was in especial favour with St. Cuthbert, whose relics he guarded; and was warned in a vision to seek the relics of various holy persons buried in different parts of Northumbria, and to expose them to the veneration of the faithful. This he did, always bringing some portion of the relics to Durham. From Melrose he brought the entire remains of Boisil, the Prior, who had received Cuthbert there; and after going for many years to Jarrow on the anniversary of Bede, he at last found an opportunity of carrying off the relics, which the monks of Jarrow so greatly prized, and never returned to their house again. He placed the relics of Bede in the shrine of St. Cuthbert; and when any of his friends asked him where the bones of Bede were resting, he would answer "No one knows better than I do. Be sure that the same chest which holds the most holy body of our father Cuthbert, holds also the bones of the venerable monk and doctor Bede. No one need seek any portion of his relics elsewhere."

for some time preserved in the coffin of St. Cuthbert. Bishop Hugh caused them to be removed into a separate and very rich shrine; but the shrine was not placed in the Galilee until 1370, at the special request of Richard of Barnard Castle, one of the monks who was afterwards buried near it. Like other shrines, it is described as having a base or table of marble, on which stood the actual feretory containing the relics, and protected by a cover of wainscot, lifted by a pulley which still remains in the roof. At the Reformation this shrine was "defaced," the bones which it contained were buried beneath the ground where it had stood, and the present altar tomb was raised over them. In 1830 this tomb was examined, down to the pavement; and a few coins were discovered, which had apparently been pushed, as offerings, through the chinks of the masonry. In 1831, on May 27th, the "anniversary" of Bede, the tomb was again opened, and the ground beneath it examined, when many human bones were found; not those of an entire skeleton, although they had been arranged in a coffin of the full size. With the bones was found an iron ring, thickly plated with gold, and bearing the device of a cinquefoil. The bones were reinterred in a box of oak; and it was at this time that the traditional epitaph of the Venerable Bede was engraved on the slab of his monument.

XX. The *Nine Altars* (Plate V.) at the east end of the church exhibits the full development of that Early English style which was only beginning to be felt when

DURHAM CATHEDRAL. THE "NINE ALTARS"

the Galilee was erected. The exact year in which it was begun is uncertain. But it seems to have been commenced during the episcopate of Richard le Poore (1229—1237), who was translated to Durham from Salisbury, where, in 1220, he had laid the foundations of the existing cathedral. Prior Melsonby (1233—1244), in other respects a benefactor to the fabric, encouraged the work greatly; but it was still incomplete (though it must have been nearly finished) in 1278, in which year an Indulgence was granted by the Bishop of Norwich toward "the more quickly finishing the new fabric."* The long period over which the work extended was no doubt the cause of certain changes in the design, indicating the development of Early English into geometrical or Early Decorated.

The Nine Altars forms an eastern transept of three main bays, the two side bays being subdivided by the vaulting shafts and vault into three parts. An eastern transept of precisely similar character was constructed

* A document, reciting the Indulgences of various bishops which up to that time had been granted, was set forth by Prior Melsonby soon after his accession to office, probably in 1233 or 1234. It is not dated. At the date of its issue it would seem that the new work had not been begun, since the Prior refers to the "fissuras et fracturas ipsius Ecclesiæ ex orientali sui parte prominentes ac terribilem ruinam minantes intuentibus." (The document is printed from the original in the Treasury at Durham, in the appendix to Raine's 'St. Cuthbert,' p. 7.) It is evident that the work had been for some time in contemplation, for the Prior recites an Indulgence of Bishop Hugh de Puiset, the constructor of the Galilee.

by Abbot John of Kent (1220—1247) at Fountains Abbey, and must have been in building at the same time. Another, and very late example, exists in Peterborough Cathedral, where the "New Building," as it is still called, was begun by Abbot Ashton in 1438, but not completed until the end of the century. It is probable that the "Nine Altars" at Fountains supplied the original design; but whether this was imported from the Continent is uncertain.[f]

A descent of two steps leads from the choir aisles into the Nine Altars. The contrast between the Norman of the nave and choir, and the later work here, is very striking. The roof is on the same level with that of the choir; but the grace and lightness of the whole design, and especially the slender shafts of marble shooting upward toward their exquisite capitals of leafage, give an impression of height beyond what is really gained by the lower level of the pavement. In its present state the transept, no doubt, suffers from too much light; but this is owing to the destruction of its stained glass which, at least in the eastern windows, was caused by the indefatigable Wyatt in 1795. All the details deserve the most careful notice.

[f] The double transept, with the choir projecting beyond the second, thus giving the ground plan the form of a double or patriarchal cross, is found in England in the cathedrals of Canterbury, Lincoln, Worcester, Salisbury, and Rochester. The type seems to have been the great conventual church of Cluny, now destroyed. But such an eastern transept as the Nine Altars is very distinct from this.

The Nine Altars from which the transept was named stood against the eastern wall; three in the central bay, and three in each of the side bays. Beginning at the north end they were dedicated as follows: St. Michael the Archangel, St. Aidan and St. Helena, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Martin, St. Cuthbert and St. Bede, St. Lawrence, St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Catherine, St. John Baptist and St. Margaret, St. Andrew and St. Mary Magdalene. The great central bay corresponds to the arch opening to the choir opposite. The bays are divided by groups of shafts, alternately of stone and of Frosterly marble, very rich in shells. The group on either side of the central bay has one large shaft, and twelve smaller. The others have one large and eight smaller. The shafts rest on a low stone base, foiled; and are ringed at the top of the wall arcade, and again half-way up. They have capitals of pure Early English leafage. In the central bay, above the wall arcade, are three lancets, at the jambs of which are marble shafts, with slender reeds of stone between them. In the central lancet these shafts rest on a lower group, with small lily-shaped capitals rising to the top of the openings which pierce the window splays. The window arches are enriched with dog-tooth, and the hood moulding is a slight cavetto into which squares of foliage are laid; an arrangement throughout characteristic of the work in this transept. Above the lancets is the large wheel window (its circumference is more than 90 ft.) so conspicuous from the nave and choir. It is by no means,

however, in its original state. Its tracery was "restored" by Wyatt in 1795; and the stained glass—consisting of very bad modern glass with some ancient fragments—was placed in it in 1839.

In each of the side bays is a single lancet set in a deep splay; the inner arch resting on shafts of which the capitals pass round into the splay, so as to support a double row of mouldings, with dog-tooth ornament. Outside is the characteristic hollow, with square bosses of foliage. These windows, like the other lancets in the east end, contained mullions and tracery before the alterations of 1795. They were then removed. They were certainly not original, but had probably been inserted by Prior Wessington (1416—1446), who expended 129*l.* 9*s.* in repairing these windows "in stone, iron, and glass." The unusual width of the lancets gives them a certain resemblance to French first pointed.

The wall arcade beneath the windows is of great beauty. The trefoiled arches, deeply moulded, rest on slender marble shafts with capitals of foliage. The hood moulding of the arches has at its angles small heads of bishops, kings, and others, much shattered, but showing in the few which remain tolerably perfect, very unusual care and expression. Between the arches and the cornice of the arcade is an elongated quatrefoil, for the most part hollow, but containing, in one or two instances, fragments of sculpture. There is, however, no indication that all were filled in this manner.

XXI. Before the construction of the north and south sides of the Nine Altars the Early English style had begun to pass into the first Decorated. On the *north* side the same wall arcade runs below; but above the space is entirely filled by a large geometrical window of three main divisions, each of which is subdivided. The heading of the window shows very fine and pure geometrical tracery; and an inner plane of tracery, supported on clustered shafts, follows the great ribs of the window. The shafts are connected with the mullions of the window by through-stones; and an iron bar (which may be original) acts as a tie by running through the inner tracery, and resting on the capitals. Some fragments of stained glass remain in this window. It represented, when perfect, the history of the Patriarch Joseph.

On the *south* side, above the wall arcade, are two pointed windows, also within an inner plane of tracery. The inner arches rest on marble shafts with foliated capitals, and are enclosed by a larger arch, having a cusped quatrefoil in the tympanum. The windows at the back are filled with Perpendicular tracery. Above in the clerestory, are two plain, pointed lights.

XXII. The *west* side of the Nine Altars, the last finished, shows a Decorated style of still more advanced character. To this belong the last bay of the choir, already described (§ XVI.), and those of the choir aisles. The vaulting shafts dividing the bays resemble those opposite. The variety in the arrange-

ment of the bays on either side of the choir arch is especially noticeable. The aisle arches, with their outer mouldings stilted, like those in the last bay of the choir, rise to the level of the aisle roof. The principal moulding has the dog-tooth; the outer hood-moulding square bosses of leafage. The capitals of the side shafts are most richly and grotesquely carved; affording examples of the sculpture of this period at least as fine and as noticeable as any others in England. (Plate VI. The work is Decorated, but the character of the foliage shows that the earlier style had by no means as yet been forgotten. The fighting monsters are full of spirit and expression.) The abacus, deeply hollowed, has leafage laid into it. Above the aisle arch is a triforium of three pointed arches; and above again a clerestory of two arches remarkably inclined to each other, and ornamented with the dog-tooth. The adjoining narrow bay has the wall arcade below; and above, a lengthened foliated arch, resting on marble and stone shafts with foliaged capitals. This arch rises nearly to the height of that opening to the aisle. Above is another lofty arch, rising into the vaulting, closed below, but open at the level of the clerestory. In the third bay, above the arcade (which is interrupted by a doorway opening to the triforium staircase), is a very lofty lancet window with shafts of alternate stone and marble, and enriched with dog-tooth. It does not stretch across the entire bay. The clerestory above

CAPITALS IN THE EAST TRANSEPT.
DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

resembles that in the second bay. The varying height of all these arches produces an excellent and singularly picturesque effect.

The vaulting is very unusual, but the arrangement of its lines shows no less daring and originality than that of the western bays just described. Two main arches, enriched with dog-tooth, cross from the choir to the eastern wall, and form the central bay. The other arches are smaller, and less enriched. The manner in which the groining ribs cut through the secondary arches should be noticed. Small square bosses of foliage are laid into the hollow of these vaulting ribs, and their key stones or central bosses are elaborately sculptured. That north displays a coronal of very beautiful leafage. In the centre (where the vaulting ribs are double, and intersect each other) are figures of the Four Evangelists, each accompanied by his symbol.

At the north end of the transept, in front of the Altar of St. Michael, was buried in 1311 the great Prelate Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and King of the Isle of Man. (See Pt. II.) From excessive reverence for the relics of St. Cuthbert, no interment whatever had up to that time been made in the cathedral; but this bishop, "le plus vaillant clerk de roiaume" had so completely overshadowed his predecessors by his wealth and magnificence, that at his death the first exception was made in his favour. His body was not carried through the church, however, but (so Raine asserts) a door for its

admission was broken through the north wall of the Nine Altars, and was afterwards walled up. The traces of such a door are still visible; but it was certainly part of the original work, and although Bek's body may have been carried through it, it could not have been first made for that purpose.[8] No monument was erected for this great prelate. A brass alone recorded that "Præsul magnanimus Antonius hic jacet imus." At the opposite end of the transept, in front of the altar of St. Andrew and St. Mary Magdalene, Bishop Richard de Bury, the scholar and the true "lover of books" (See Pt. II.), was buried in 1345.

At the north end is a seated figure—fine and dignified—of Bishop Van Mildert (died 1831), executed at Rome by Gibson, and placed here by friends of the bishop. The wall arcade is disfigured by modern monuments of various dates; and in the centre, immediately under the central lancet, is a shield with the arms of the see, which might well have been removed in the course of the many changes which the "Nine Altars" has undergone. It is proper to add that while the havoc wrought by Wyatt cannot be sufficiently deplored, the later restoration here (at least in the interior) has been very judicious. The marble shafts were cleared some years since from the wash with which they had been covered; and in 1862 all that were defaced or broken were restored at a cost of 600*l.*

XXIII. Filling the space between the piers of the

[8] There is also a door, also original, and in the same position in the Nine Altars at Fountains Abbey.

great choir arch, and projecting into the transept of the Nine Altars, is *the platform of the shrine of St. Cuthbert;* the spot which, before the dissolution of the convent, was held to be the holiest in the church, and on which reposed the "treasure more precious than gold or topaz." This platform, 37 feet long by 23 feet broad, extends at the back of the altar screen. Toward the Nine Altars its front is ornamented by a circular arcade, supported on plain shafts. Stairs on either side lead up to it, so that pilgrims, ascending by one flight, could pass before the shrine and descend by that opposite. This arrangement, and the position of the shrine at the back of the high altar, were usual with all the greater shrines, such as St. Thomas's at Canterbury, or St. Edward's at Westminster. Toward the centre of the platform are two hollows worn in the pavement, "which by uniform tradition are said to have been produced by the devotional scrapings of the feet of pilgrims before the object of their veneration;"[h] and in front of these marks, under a large square stone, are interred, as there is every reason to believe, the true relics of St. Cuthbert.

The place now marked by this stone was that on which the shrine itself formerly stood. The base, which had been given by the Lord Neville shortly before 1380, when he gave the altar screen, was "of fine and costly green marble, all lined and gilt with gold, having four seats or places convenient underneath the shrine, for the pilgrims or lame men, sitting

[h] Raine's St. Cuthbert, p. 182.

on their knees, to lean and rest on in the time of their devout offerings."[i] On this base rested the actual shrine or feretory; a superb work of gold and enamel, hung round with the jewels and richer ornaments offered by "great lords and princes." This was usually hidden by a cover of wainscot, carved, painted, and gilt, which, on certain festivals, was drawn up by a rope attached to the vault above. To this rope "six very fine sounding silver bells were fastened, which, at the drawing up of the cover, made such a goodly sound that it stirred all the people's hearts that were within the church to repair unto it, and to make their prayer to God and that holy man St. Cuthbert."[k] A small altar, at which mass was only said on St. Cuthbert's Day, in March,[l] was connected with the west end of the base of the shrine. At the sides of the platform were almeries of wainscot, containing numerous relics of saints; and the side of the reredos which fronted the platform was filled, like that toward the altar, with sculptured figures in alabaster.

Above the shrine, at the east end, was suspended the *banner of St. Cuthbert.* It had fastened into its centre

[i] Description of the Ancient Monuments, &c. The bases of all great shrines had similar seats or hollows, in which sick persons were sometimes allowed to remain all night, in hope of a miraculous cure.

[k] Description of the Ancient Monuments, &c.

[l] March 20. This was the Festival of the Translation by Bishop Flambard in 1104 (see § XVI.). The festival of the Deposition was held in September.

the "holy corporax cloth wherewith St. Cuthbert covered the chalice when he used to say mass"—covered with white velvet, on which was laid a cross of red. A banner of St. Cuthbert is mentioned at a very early period; but a new one seems to have been made after the battle of Neville's Cross (October 17th, 1346), when David, King of Scots, was defeated by the Lord Neville. Neville's Cross is on the high ground, not quite a mile west of the city; and the night before the battle Prior Forcer had been "warned in a vision" to fasten the corporax cloth on the point of a spear, and to display it on the Red Hills, within sight of the battle-field. The victory was mainly attributed to this relic, and the prior afterwards "caused a very sumptuous banner to be made," in which it was inserted. Like the banners of St. John of Beverley, St. Wilfrid of Ripon, and of other saints, this banner of St. Cuthbert was afterwards present with the king's "host" on many occasions. It was carried against Scotland by Richard II. in 1385, and by Henry IV. in 1401; and it waved over the men of the bishopric at Flodden. After the dissolution it fell, says the author of the often quoted 'Description,' "into the possession of Dean Whittingham, whose wife, called Katherine, being a French woman (as is credibly reported by eye-witnesses), did most despitefully burn the same in her fire, to the open contempt and disgrace of all ancient reliques."[m] The King of Scots' "ancient" and his banner, taken at Neville's Cross, were, after the

[m] Description of the Ancient Monuments, &c.

battle, offered at the shrine by the Lord Neville, besides his own standard. Together with "divers other noblemen's ancients," they were fastened to irons round the platform of the shrine.

A watching chamber, which seems to have been entirely of wood, for the use of the Feretrar or shrine-keeper and his companion monk (one of whom was always present, day and night), was placed near the shrine, probably in the north aisle. Until recently the whole of the platform was surrounded by a screen of carved wood, apparently of the time of Queen Mary, when the place where the relics of St. Cuthbert were known to repose may have been thought to deserve this honour. Portions of this screen remain in the triforium above the south aisle of the nave.

To this shrine the body of the saint had been removed after the completion of the Nine Altars, and here it remained until 1540, the year of the dissolution of the greater monasteries. On the death of St. Cuthbert in 687, his body was buried on the right of the altar in the church of Lindisfarne. Eleven years afterwards (698) the monks, expecting to find only the bones of the saint, which they might place in a shrine "above the pavement" of the church, opened the coffin; but are said to have found the body uncorrupt and perfect, "more like a sleeping than a dead man."[n] They removed the chasuble, sandals, and face cloth, leaving all the inner vestments untouched; and having replaced those removed by new, they laid the body in

[n] Bede. V. S. Cuthberti, cap. 42.

a coffin already prepared, and placed it in the shrine. In 875, when Bishop Eardulph and his monks fled from Lindisfarne they carried with them the body of St. Cuthbert, having laid into his wooden coffin the head of St. Oswald, some of the bones of St. Aidan, and the relics of some other bishops of Lindisfarne. The coffin accompanied them in all their wanderings; and after the settlement at Chester-le-Stréet (see § xxx. and Pt. II.), Athelstane visited the shrine in 934, on his way into Scotland, and made to St. Cuthbert many costly gifts, including rich robes and vestments. There is no record of any examination of the body until the year 1104, when it was translated into the new church of Bishop Carileph. (See § xvi.) At that time the coffin was opened in presence of the Prior Turgot and others, and the body was again declared to be incorrupt and perfect. Reginald of Durham describes the vestments in which it was robed, and mentions the silver altar, the comb, and other relics which were in the coffin.[o] The head of St. Oswald rested on the breast of St. Cuthbert.[p] At the dissolution the visitors, Lee, Henley, and Blithman, broke open the iron-bound chest in which the body lay in the shrine, and "found him lying whole, uncorrupt, with his face bare, and his beard as of a fortnight's growth, and all the vestments about him as he was accustomed to say

[o] Reg. Dunelm., c. 40-3 (Surtees Soc. edition). These chapters, with a translation, are also printed in Raine's St. Cuthbert.

[p] Will. Malmes., De Gestis Pontificum, L. iii.

mass, and his met wand of gold lying by him."[q] They removed the relics (in whatever state they really were) to the revestry "till the king's pleasure concerning him was further known, and upon the receipt thereof the prior and monks buried him in the ground under the place where his shrine was exalted." This is the account of the disposition of the relics given by the author of the 'Description:' others, to the same effect, are quoted by Dr. Raine from MS. sources, and from the 'Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica' of Harpsfield, Queen Mary's Archdeacon of Canterbury. All these accounts, it should be remarked, are those of persons adhering to the "old profession." The bills for making the grave of St. Cuthbert are now framed and hung in the Library.

XXIV. St. Cuthbert remained undisturbed in his grave until May 17th, 1827, when his tomb was opened in the presence of Dr. Raine, certain of the prebendaries of Durham, and others. In a walled grave immediately under the large stone in the centre of the platform of the shrine was found, first, the "new coffin" made in 1542, when the relics were buried. Within this were the remains of two other coffins, very much decayed; the outermost of which was, no doubt, that in which the inner had been enclosed on the translation of 1104; whilst the inner coffin showed by the character and decorations of its fragments that it was the same in which the remains

[q] Description of the Ancient Monuments, &c.

had been placed at Lindisfarne in 698.[r] Within this last coffin was found a human skeleton wrapped in robes which had once been of great richness; and among them were a comb of ivory, an altar tablet covered with silver, a small linen bag, a very rich stole and maniple of the 10th century, and another maniple of later date, a girdle and two bracelets, and a golden cross set with garnets. All these relics were removed, and are now placed in the library. (For a full description of them see § xxx.) The bones, including a skull, which was found in the inner coffin, and was no doubt that of St. Oswald, were reinterred in a new chest, and the grave was closed as before.[s]

There can be no reasonable doubt that these were the actual remains of St. Cuthbert. It is quite

[r] Reginald's account of this coffin is that "the whole of it is externally carved with very admirable engraving. . . . The compartments are very circumscribed and small, and they are occupied by divers beasts, flowers, and images, which seem to be inserted, engraved, or furrowed out in the wood."—Cap. 43. Of the coffin found in 1827, Dr. Raine says, "Its lid, and sides, and bottom, and ends exhibited rude delineations, in lines carved apparently with the point of a knife, of Evangelists, Apostles, Saints, &c., and the inscriptions in connection with each figure were in characters used at the time of St. Cuthbert's death, and of a period long anterior to the settlement of the monks at Durham."—Brief Account of Durham Cathedral, p. 59. Very considerable fragments of this coffin are preserved in the Library.

[s] For the most ample and interesting account of these discoveries the reader is referred to Raine's St. Cuthbert, Durham, 1828. The arguments which prove these to have been the relics of St. Cuthbert are there drawn out at great length.

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possible that the body may have been incorrupt when it was first disinterred in 698. Instances are known in which, from natural causes, human bodies have remained perfect for a considerable length of time. But it would seem that, probably long before the translation in 1104 (when only one or two persons were allowed to touch it), what passed for the incorrupt St. Cuthbert had been in truth a skeleton, so shrouded and enveloped in robes as to give the appearance of an entire body. The cavities of the eyes in the skull of the saint had been filled with round artificial balls, of a whitish colour, indicating, perhaps, that when first the actual body showed signs of collapsing, these balls had been inserted to give the full outline beneath the face cloth, which was never allowed to be raised.[1]

There is, however, a tradition that the incorrupt body of St. Cuthbert was secretly buried by the monks —at what time we are not told, but probably after its removal from the shrine to the revestry; and that the true place of his interment in the Cathedral is only known to three members of the Benedictine order,

[1] The skull of St. Cuthbert agreed remarkably with the description given by Reginald of what was observed in 1104:—"The chin appeared to those who saw it as if the lower bone was furrowed by a twofold division. In which furrow, so distinct on each side, the quantity of almost a transverse finger might be laid in, because its highest tip was so indented."—Reg. Dun., cap. 41. The chin of the actual skull is singularly indented, as appears from Dr. Raine's drawing (St. Cuthbert, p. 214).

who, as each one dies, choose a successor. Another line of tradition is said to descend through the Vicars Apostolic (now the Roman Catholic bishops) of the district. This is the belief to which reference is made in 'Marmion,'—

> "There, deep in Durham's Gothic shade
> His relics are in secret laid;
> But none may know the place,
> Save of his holiest servants three,
> Deep sworn to solemn secresy,
> Who share that wondrous grace."[u]

Such a tradition could hardly be sustained in face of the direct assertions of Harpsfield and other Romanists, and of the discoveries made in 1827; but its truth was entirely disproved by excavations made by the Chapter in September, 1867. The supposed place of interment indicated by the secular tradition (under the stairs of the bell-tower) was then carefully examined; no remains were found; and it was evident that the ground had never been disturbed since the construction of the tower.[x]

[u] Marmion, canto ii., stanza 14.

[x] This secular tradition was preserved in the following words: —"Subter gradus saxeos (secundum et tertium) clymacis ascendentis et ducentis erga turrim campanarum in templo cathedrali civitatis Dunelmensis, prope horologium grande, quod locatur in angulo australi fani ejusdem, sepultus jacet thesaurus pretiosus (corpus S. Cuthberti)."

The earliest notice of such a tradition is in Serenus Cressy (1668), Ch. Hist., p. 902. The next in two MSS. in Downside College, by F. Mannock (1740), who states that he had heard it from F. Casse (1730). Both these statements pointed to the

XXV. The *choir aisles*, as already mentioned, follow the architecture of the choir itself. In the *north* aisle, at its eastern end, was "a porch, called the anchorage," approached by a staircase (it was apparently in the triforium above the aisle), in which dwelt an anchorite, and which contained an altar, with a rood. Projecting from the aisle, below, was the sacrist's exchequer, built by Prior Wessington (1416—1446), but long since destroyed. Still further west, against the wall of the aisle, is a stone seat erected by Bishop Skirlaw (1388—1405) for the convenience of certain poor men, who in accordance with the terms of his will, were to sit thereon and offer up their prayers for his soul. He is buried in front of this seat.[y] The matrix of the brass which formerly covered his tomb may perhaps be that now laid before the altar steps in the choir (see § XVI.). At the east end of the *south* aisle, in front of a screen of carved work, was placed the *Black*

removal of the body in the time of Henry VIII. The next notice of it is in 1828, when F. Gregory Robinson wrote to Lingard (see Lingard's 'Remarks,' p. 50); but in this account the removal was described as taking place in Mary's time. The secrecy was partly broken when in 1800 the sketch of the cathedral which exists in the archives of the Northern (Roman Catholic) Province was allowed to be seen. Lingard's tradition (A. S. Church, ii. 80) about the exchange of S. Cuthbert's body for another skeleton is unknown to the Benedictines, who assert that they possess the secret. It is said that the Benedictine tradition concerning the site does not agree with the secular.

[y] "I saw him (Bishop Skirlaw) about fifteen years ago at Durham, when his tomb was disturbed, swathed in lead, through which the outline of his crozier could easily be traced."—Raine's Lives of the Archbishops of York, vol. i. p. 461.

Rood of Scotland, a crucifix of blackened silver[a] with figures of the Virgin and St. John on either side. Each figure was about 3 feet high, and on the head of each was a moveable crown of gold. It was this relic in honour of which, according to tradition, the Abbey of Holy Rood at Edinburgh had been founded in 1128. David I., while "hunting the wild hart," was thrown from his horse by a "fierce and beautiful stag," and "casting back his hands betwixt the tines of the hart's horns to stay himself, the said cross slipped into his hands most wonderfully, at the sight of which the hart immediately vanished away, and was never after seen; no man knowing certainly what metal or wood the said cross was made of."[a] The king founded the abbey on the spot where the miracle had occurred, and the "rood" was kept there in great honour. It had been brought by David II. to the field of Neville's Cross; but the corporax cloth of St. Cuthbert proved more powerful than the rood, which was brought to Durham after the rout of the Scots, and offered at the shrine. What became of it at the dissolution is unknown.[b]

[a] "Being as it were smoaked all over."—Description, &c. It is from the 'Description' we learn that the place of this famous crucifix shortly before the Reformation was at the end of the south aisle. At first, as appears from a list of relics made by Richard de Segbrook, shrine-keeper in 1383 (see Raine's St. Cuthbert, p. 121), it was kept in one of the almeries close to the great shrine.

[a] Description, &c. Similar legends are told of St. Eustace and St. Hubert.

[b] The Cross of Holy Rood had known some changes before

A Decorated doorway, remaining in the wall nearly opposite Bishop Hatfield's tomb, opened to the "great vestry" built at the end of the 13th century. It was rich in stained glass, and extended nearly as far as the south transept; but it was entirely destroyed in 1802 without the slightest apparent reason.

XXVI. A far more infamous piece of destruction was perpetrated in 1796–97. Until that time the *chapter house* (the remains of which [Plate VII.] are approached from the end of the south transept) existed nearly as it had been built in the time of Bishop Geoffry the Red (1133—1140).[c] It was unquestionably the finest example of a Norman chapter house remaining in England. Within it was about 80 feet long by 37 broad. Its eastern end was circu-

it found its resting place at Durham. It had been taken to England by Edward I., certainly before 1296 (in which year the famous Coronation Stone was conveyed to Westminster from Scone); since, in 1292. Balliol swore upon it to withdraw his claims to the crown of Scotland. On this occasion the Black Rood was brought into the Chapter House at Westminster, from its place of keeping in the Abbey Treasury. (Stanley's Memorials of Westminster Abbey, p. 392.) The treaty of Northampton, 1328, which closed the war between England and Scotland, provided for the restoration of the relics carried from the latter country. The stone of Scone, however, was not sent back; but the "Black Rood" was then restored. Within twenty years it was brought by David II. into England to be taken at the Battle of Neville's Cross, and to become an appendage of the great Durham shrine.

[c] Ipsius tempore, capitulum monachorum, quale hodie cernitur, inchoatum et consummatum est. — Continuatio, Sim. Dunelm., p. 53.

ENTRANCE TO THE CHAPTER HOUSE DURHAM CATHEDRAL

INTERIOR OF CHAPTER HOUSE, DURHAM CATHEDRAL.
BEFORE ITS DESTRUCTION. FROM AN OLD DRAWING.

lar, and the vaulting of that part, drawings of which (Plate VIII., the chapter-house is here given from a drawing by the antiquary Carter) fortunately exist, possibly gives us some idea of that covering the great apse of the Norman choir, beneath which the shrine of St. Cuthbert rested for more than a century.[a] Round the south, north, and east walls ran a plain arcade of intersecting arches, having, below, three stone benches, one above another; and in the centre of the eastern end was a stone chair, in which the bishops were regularly installed; Bishop Barrington (1791), in whose time the chapter house was destroyed, having been the last. Above the arcade were, at the eastern end, five windows, which had been filled with Decorated tracery; two others, retaining all their Norman work, opened south and north; and in the western wall were two opening to the cloister. The string-course above the arcade and the vaulting ribs were enriched with zigzag. The four ribs above the apse were carried on very remarkable caryatides,—full-length figures of most unusual design. Short shafts, resting on the arcade string-course, carried the other vaulting ribs. (These details are seen in Plate VIII.) At the western end was a rich portal opening to the cloister, with windows on either side, and above them a large window of the Perpendicular period, once filled with a "Root of Jesse" in stained glass. The floor

[a] "The chapter house was spanned in one width by a groined Norman vault, an evidence of great constructive skill."—Gordon M. Hills.

was covered with inscribed slabs and brasses, recording the bishops who had been buried here.*

But this room, rich in associations, and of the very highest architectural interest, was, in 1796, pronounced cold, comfortless, and inconvenient. The chapter architect (for this atrocity was not one of the glories of Wyatt) was accordingly commissioned (and it should be remembered that Dean Cornwallis, who boasted of having "saved the Galilee," was still at the head of the chapter) to improve it. He began by knocking out the key-stones of the groining, allowing the whole roof to fall on the pavement and to destroy

* In the chapter house which existed on this site before 1133, the bones of Aidan, the first bishop of Lindisfarne, which the monks had brought with them to Durham, were buried. Here also were interred the remains of Ealdhun, the founder of Durham (See § II. and Part II.), and of the following bishops:—Eadmund, Eadred, Walchere, William of St. Carileph, and Flambard. When the present building was begun, soon after 1133, the remains of these earlier bishops must have been raised, since they are recorded as resting in the present Chapter House. In this were also interred the bishops,—William of St. Barbe, Hugh de Puiset, Philip of Poitou, Richard Marsh, Nicholas Farnham, Walter Kirkham, Robert Stichill, Robert of Holy Island, and Richard Kellaw. It must be remembered that until Bishop Bek (§ XXII.) broke through the rule, no interment whatever was permitted within the walls of the cathedral. The bishops who were with Carileph on his death-bed desired that he would give permission for his own burial in the church which he was building, but he refused, saying that it was not fit that the ancient rule should be broken through, or that in the place where St. Cuthbert's incorrupted body was reposing any other body should be interred, or even brought within the walls.—Sim. Dunelm., L. iv., cap. 10.

the grave-stones. The eastern end, about half of the original chapter house, was then removed altogether. A new wall was built inclosing the remaining portion, and all the ancient features of that were hidden by a facing of lath and plaster. The floor was boarded, and a plaster ceiling was constructed, shutting out the great west window. In 1830 parts of the covering of the wall were removed, and portions of the ancient arcade, besides the doorway and windows opening to the cloisters (see Plate VII.), are now visible. But even the arcade had been defaced and injured, and great part of it is a modern restoration. The present floor is about 3 feet above the original pavement; and it is tolerably certain that the ancient tomb-slabs still exist in situ beneath the rubbish. Three of the full-length figures which supported the vaulting ribs of the apse have happily been preserved, and are now in the library.

XXVII. We enter the *cloisters* through the *prior's door*, at the east end of the south nave aisle. This door is very rich Transition Norman, and greatly resembles a portal in the castle which, in all probability, was the work of Bishop Hugh de Puiset. Leland asserts that Bishop Hugh began the construction of the cloister.[f] The prior's door, like the Galilee, displays in the capitals of its shafts the pecu-

[f] Collectanea, vol. i. p. 122, old edition: quoted by Mr. Longstaffe on Bishop Hugh's buildings.—Trans. of Architectural and Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland, 1862, p. 3.

liar volute which indicates the tendency to Early English forms, and instead of zigzag the arches are enriched with various ornaments of late character. This portal, and that in the castle, "with the Galilee, but in a different way, constitute remarkable trial pieces whether it was possible to carry out the growing tendencies to graceful vertical architecture, without the abandonment of the circular arch."[g]

An earlier cloister must no doubt have existed, but the present cloister was begun in 1368, was carried forward by Bishop Skirlaw (1388—1405) and by his successor Bishop Langley (1406—1437), and was not entirely completed until 1498.[h] The work is plain, and in its present state the cloister is not very interesting or attractive, but this is partly owing to the removal of the old tracery from the windows, and the insertion, about the middle of last century, of that (unusually good for its time) which is now seen in them. In their original state the windows in the east walk were filled with stained glass, containing the history of St. Cuthbert. This was destroyed by the second dean, Robert Horne (1551—1553). The north walk was fitted with carrels (small square enclosures for study) placed against the windows, and almeries containing such books as were in ordinary use were arranged against the opposite wall. The arms on the roof of the cloister are those of Bishops Skirlaw and

[g] W. H. D. Longstaffe.

[h] Raine's 'Brief Account,' p. 87. Some fabric rolls of the cloister are preserved in the Treasury.

LAVATORY AND CLOISTERS DURHAM CATHEDRAL

Langley, and of various great northern houses. They were restored, and not very accurately, in 1828. The cloisters were restored throughout in 1856–7. Somewhere in the east walk was a small "chapel-like building," which contained the coffin or shrine of St. Cuthbert after the church of Ealdhun (see § II.) had been pulled down, and the present building was in course of construction. Thence the "holy body" was removed into the church in 1104. Dean Horn destroyed the building, and Dean Whittingham an effigy of St. Cuthbert, which it contained.[1]

The *lavatory* (Plate IX.) in the centre of the cloister garth was formerly enclosed within a small octagonal building, the upper part of which formed a dove-cote. It was begun in 1432, and finished during the following year. The marble of the basin was brought from the bed of the Tees near Barnard Castle, where, beneath the Abbey of Egleston, the river flows along its deep bed,—

> "Condemned to wear a channelled way
> O'er solid sheets of marble gray."[k]

For permission to take the stone thence 20*s.* was paid to the Abbot of Egleston.

XXVIII. The domestic arrangements of a great Benedictine monastery are excellently seen at Durham, since, in spite of much wanton destruction on the part of iconoclastic deans and energetic architects, the

[1] Mr. Gordon Hill suggests that the site of this chapel may have been the place of the shrine in the former church.

[k] Rokeby.

greater part of the monastic buildings remain little altered. This is chiefly owing to the arrangement by which, immediately after the resignation of the house, the last prior became the first dean,—an arrangement which preserved the noble manuscripts of the library, as well as the conventual buildings. The ground plan here was the same as in all the larger houses of the order. On the east side of the cloister was the chapter house, with some other apartments, above which was the library; and at the south-east angle, an opening to the prior's house. On the south was the refectory, having a connection at its western end with the great kitchen and the cellarer's offices. On the west was the dormitory, with the frater house or common room of the monks below it.

On the *east* side, between the chapter-house and the church, a "slype" or open passage, lined with a Norman intersecting arcade, of the same apparent date as that in the chapter-house, led from the cloister to the monastic cemetery on the south side of the choir. This was the original sacristy; before the great vestry on the south side of the choir (§ xxv.) was built, at the end of the 13th century. In the passage which it was then made (it is now closed, and forms a room between the transept and the chapter-house) merchants were sometimes allowed to display their wares. Beyond the chapter house are three small apartments, the appropriation of which is uncertain; and a passage which formerly led to the Prior's House and now to the Deanery. (For the Prior's House see *post* § xxxii.)

On the *south* side the windows and parapet of the refectory, now known as the old library, were restored by Salvin in 1858. The refectory was late Perpendicular, and, after the dissolution, was used as the common hall of the minor canons until Dean Sudbury (1661—1684) converted it to its present use. A room called the "loft" adjoined it on the west, and served as the eating room of the sub-prior and convent on ordinary days. Below the refectory extends a range of vaulted cellarage (having circular windows on the south side), the eastern part of which is open, and supported on two rows of low massive piers, square, without capitals, but having a square abacus; whilst that westward is divided into compartments by thick walls. This cellarage may be entered from a passage which opens from the north-east corner of the cloisters into the abbey yard. The passage is itself lined with low, plain, circular arches; and, like the cellarage, shows Norman work of very early character. Both are most probably the substructions of the refectory built by the monks during the three years' exile of Bishop Carileph, 1088—1091;[1] and must, therefore, be regarded as belonging to the earliest Nor-

[1] "Hoc tempore refectorium, quale hodie cernitur, monachi ædificaverunt."—Sim. Dunelm., L. iv. c. 8. "Licet enim in alia monasteria et ecclesias ferocius ageret (rex Willelmus) ipsis tamen non solum nihil auferebat, sed etiam de suo dabat, et ab injuriis malignorum sicut pater defendebat. Sed et Priori ad se venienti humiliter assurgens, benigne eum suscepit, et ita per omnia sub se quemadmodum sub episcopo curam ecclesiæ cum omni libertate agere præcepit."—Id. id.

man work remaining here. It is expressly asserted that during this period the monks were carefully protected by William II. Some work of a similar character and probably of the same date remains under the Prior's House (see § XXXII.).

Under the loft are four small rooms of much later date, which probably served as cellars and pantries in immediate connection with the refectory.

XXIX. On the *west* side of the cloisters, above a range of vaulted apartments, extends the *dormitory*, now known as the *new library*. This was built between the years 1398 and 1404. In the former year a contract for building it was entered into with a certain John of Middleton, who seems to have completed the substructure, but owing either to his death or to his inability to complete the work, a new contract was made in 1401 with Peter Dryng.[m] Bishop Skirlaw contributed 330 marks to the new building. There had been, however, beyond all doubt a Norman building on this side of the cloister; since the door at

[m] This contract remains in the Treasury. "The contractor binds himself to finish his work before the day of All Saints, 1404. During the intervening period, he was to receive, yearly, a suit of clothes, such as were worn by the prior's esquires, and daily, a white loaf, a flagon of beer, and a dish of meat from the kitchen, of the same quality as that prepared for the esquire's table. . . . For every rood of masonry containing six ells, and half an ell square, he was to receive ten marks. Forty pounds were to be paid him in advance at the commencement of the work, and 40*l.* upon the completion of every six roods, till the dormitory was finished."—Raine's 'Brief Account of Durham Cathedral,' p. 91.

its north end, which now leads to the New Library, is Norman; and there are distinct traces of Norman work, belonging to an upper story, on the outer, or western, wall. This Norman cloister must have been almost entirely rebuilt in the thirteenth century. The groined frater house, running under the Dormitory or New Library is to all appearance of that date, although there is no record of its construction.[n]

The smaller vaulted rooms below the dormitory are now appropriated as vestries. The larger room at the southern end was the *frater house*, or common room, "in which was the only fire to which the monks had access. Here on the 16th of December, the day of O Sapientia, was an annual feast of figs, and raisins, and cakes, and ale, given by the communer or master of the hall to the prior and convent at large." This crypt has been restored.

The *dormitory* itself, after having for some time formed part of one of the canons' houses, was thoroughly and well restored between 1849 and 1853. The roof is plain Perpendicular, with roughly squared beams. Hollows in the stone-work of the windows show where the screens were fixed that divided the whole chamber into a double row of cubicles, leaving room for a passage down the centre. Between the windows are now arranged cases for books; and in the recesses are Roman altars, inscriptions, and antiquities, found at

[n] See Mr. Gordon Hill's paper in the Journal of the Archæol. Association, vol. xxii.

various stations in Durham and Northumberland, besides some very remarkable Anglo-Saxon baluster shafts from Monk Wearmouth and Jarrow. A magnificent series of regal, episcopal and other seals is displayed in the centre of the room, admirably illustrating the changes of art from the twelfth century to the sixteenth. Among them two are especially noticeable—the great circular seal, as Patriarch of Jerusalem, of Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham (1284—1311), and the capitular seal of the prior and convent. This dates from the last years of the eleventh century, and bears a Greek cross, with the inscription "Sigillum Cudberhti Presulis sancti." A reverse was added about a century later. This was an antique, very finely cut head of Jupiter Serapis, let into a plate of metal, and surrounded by the inscription, "Caput Sancti Oswaldi Regis." Such conversions of antique gems to Christian purposes are not uncommon.

In a case against the wall are five ancient copes, used, however improperly, as Eucharistic vestments in the Cathedral of Durham, until the middle of the last century, when it is said that Dr. Warburton, then a prebendary of the church, found that they irritated his neck and his temper, and discontinued to wear them. One of them is said to have been given to the monks by Queen Philippa, after the battle of Neville's Cross. Another, representing David with the head of Goliath, was the gift of Charles I. Not one, however, is entirely of the same date; but the various portions of which

they are made up are beautiful in design, and deserve attention.

In this room are original portraits of Bishop Barrington; of Dean Sudbury (1661—1684), who founded the older library; of Bishop Butler (1750—1752); and of Sir George Wheler, the traveller (see *ante*, § XII.). A cabinet of coins collected by him is also preserved here.

Passing through the "loft" or smaller refectory (which opens from the south-west end of the dormitory), the great refectory, which has long served as a library, is entered. Here the manuscript treasures of the chapter are preserved; and here, in an open case, are displayed the relics found in 1827 in the tomb of St. Cuthbert.

XXX. These relics consist of a comb, a small portable altar, an early stole and maniple, a maniple of much later date, part of a girdle, bracelets, and a cross (see § XXIV.).

The comb is of ivory, but so stained and discoloured that its material was only ascertained with certainty in the process of putting together the fragments into which it fell when first discovered. It has a round hollow in the middle, and agrees perfectly with the description given by Reginald of a comb found in the coffin of the saint on its examination in 1104.[o] Similar combs (perhaps those used at their consecration) have been found in the tombs of many early bishops; but it remains quite uncertain whether this was a personal

[o] Reg. Dun., cap. 42.

relic of St. Cuthbert, or an offering of much later date.

Reginald also mentions that the saint had with him in his coffin an altar of silver.[p] The portable *altar* in the case was found on the breast of the body, and is, there can be little doubt, that used by St. Cuthbert himself at some period of his life. It is a small square slip of oak, covered with a thin plate of silver, attached by silver nails. Only portions of this plating remain. In the centre, on one side, was a cross, having an inscription round it in a circle, and leaf ornaments at the corners. The inscription, which is imperfect, has been read O ΑΓΙΑ ET ERASTE, the letters underlined being supplied conjecturally. But this interpretation is, to say the least, doubtful.[q] In the outer circle are the letters O H. On the opposite side of the altar was the figure of a priest, with the letters P . . . . O Σ . . . . Σ. Between the wood and the silver plating was a coating of some kind of paste, which rapidly crumbled away, and showed that on the wood below had been two crosses and an inscription, all of which that can be deciphered is, "In honor . . . . S. Petru." The letters N. O. and H. of this inscription are precisely the same as those of the MS. A. II. 17 (see *post*, § XXXI.), which is certainly coeval with St. Cuthbert.[r]

[p] Reg. Dun., cap. 42.

[q] The Γ in ΑΓΙΑ has certainly been misread. It seems rather to be UA. The word which has been read ET, is apparently EC.

[r] It seems probable that this oaken slip was the original altar,

The earlier *stole* and *maniple* are of extreme beauty and interest. They are formed of flat gold-thread, still as bright and untarnished as when first woven. In spaces or medallions left vacant by the loom, figures are wrought in coloured silks. The stole is now broken into five pieces; but when perfect it had in the centre a quatrefoil ornament enclosing a lamb, with the inscription "Agnū Dī"; and on either side hung full-length figures of prophets. Both stole and maniple are about 2¼ inches wide. The maniple has in the centre a hand outstretched from a cloud, with the inscription "Dextera Dī"; and on one side figures of St. Gregory, Peter the Deacon, and John the Baptist; and on the other of St. Sixtus, Lawrence the Deacon (a half-length), and (a half-length) St. James the Apostle. At the ends of both stole and maniple are the words "Ælfflæd fieri precepit," and "Pio Episcopo Frithestano." Ælfled, who died before 916, was the second queen of Edward the Elder, son and suc-

which was afterwards plated with silver. A small portable altar, which seems greatly to have resembled this of St. Cuthbert's, was found, according to Simeon of Durham, on the breast of Acca, Bishop of Hexham (died 740), on his translation about the year 1040. "Inventa est etiam super pectus ejus tabula lignea in modum altaris facta ex duobus lignis clavis argenteis conjuncta; sculpta que est in illa scriptura hæc: *Alme Trinitati. agie. sophie. Sanctæ Mariæ.* Utrum vero reliquiæ in ea positæ fuerint, vel qua de causa cum eo in terra posita sit ignoratur."—Sim. Dunelm, 'De Gestis Reg. Anglor., p. 101. The last remark shows that the custom of placing such an altar in the coffin was unknown in the 12th century, when Simeon wrote, and is an additional proof of the antiquity of that found with St. Cuthbert's relics.

cessor of Alfred the Great. Frithestan was Bishop of Winchester from 909 to 931, when he resigned, and died in 933. In 934 Athelstane visited Chester-le-Street, where the shrine of St. Cuthbert then was; and it is expressly recorded that among the gifts which he made to the saint were a stole and maniple. There can be no doubt that these are the actual gifts of "glorious Athelstane" as the chroniclers delighted to call him. Apart from their historical interest, they are perhaps unique examples of that "English embroidery" which, before the Conquest, was famous throughout Europe;* and it is greatly to be desired that accurate drawings of these remarkable relics should be made and published, reproducing, as far as possible, the original colours.

The *second maniple* is much later, perhaps of the thirteenth century. It is of scarlet silk, embroidered with a leaf-like pattern in gold.

Part of a *girdle* and two *bracelets*, woven of gold-thread and scarlet silk, and not quite an inch in width, may also have formed part of Athelstane's gifts. It is recorded that he bestowed such ornaments on the saint.

* Eadmer of Canterbury, who was present with St. Anselm at the Council of Bari, describes a superb cope, "cappa valde preciosa, aurifrigio ex omni parte ornata," worn by the Archbishop of Beneventum. It was of English work, and had been given to the Archbishop in the days of Cnut and Emma by Ægelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, partly in return for one of the arms of St. Bartholomew which the foreign Archbishop had brought to England to sell, in order to assist his people during a great famine.—Eadmer, Hist. Novor., Lib. ii. p. 50.

The *cross* has four equal arms, widening at the extremities. It is of gold, with a large garnet in the centre, one at each angle, and twelve on each arm. The form is very ancient, and the workmanship may very well be of St. Cuthbert's time or earlier. Under the central garnet there was probably a relic, perhaps a fragment of the true cross.

These relics are all placed together under glass. Portions of the very rich robes in which the body was wrapped have, by the care of the present librarian (the Rev. W. Greenwell), been mounted and framed, and are now also to be seen. They are apparently of Eastern (or perhaps of Sicilian) workmanship, and their designs should be carefully examined. On one appears an armed figure bearing a hawk. They may have been Athelstane's "pallia." Such robes were made at Baghdad and Bassora, and brought to France by Eastern merchants; but they were also manufactured in Sicily, where very ancient oriental designs were long retained.

XXXI. The collection of *manuscripts*, which, as has been said, descended from the monastery to the chapter, is one of the most interesting and important in England; it can only be seen by special application to the librarian. The MSS. to be chiefly noticed are the following (they are here arranged chronologically):—

A. II. 17.—MS. of the seventh, or very early in the eighth century, containing part of the Gospels of SS. Mark, Luke, and John. A magnificent specimen of Anglo-Irish work. The opening of the Gospel of St.

John, giving the words "In principio" in large interlaced letters, and a representation of the Crucifixion, are specially noticeable. Attached to this MS. is a fragment of the Gospel of St. Luke, as early as the sixth century. B. III. 32.—A Latin Hymnarium (eleventh century) interlined with Anglo-Saxon. A. IV. 19.—A Rituale, also interlined with Anglo-Saxon. (These books have been printed by the Surtees Society.) A. II. 16.—A copy of the Gospels in majuscule letters, said, by monastic tradition, to be in the handwriting of Bede. At least three hands, however, have been employed on this MS., the larger portion being of a date anterior to Bede, who may possibly have added some of the later portions. At p. 37 is the only illumination—a characteristic interlaced border. B. II. 30. —Cassiodorus on the Psalms, also attributed to the pen of Bede, though, judging from the entire difference of style, no part of the two MSS. can well have been written by the same person. This, however, is also of the eighth century. At pp. 81 and 172 are illuminations representing David enthroned, with a lyre on the lap; and David with a glory, standing on a two-headed serpent, and holding a spear. The border of the first subject is very delicate and intricate, in light and dark purple, vermilion, and green. A. II. 4.— A Bible in two volumes, given to the monastery by Bishop Carileph, and of his time. It contains very striking illuminations. The first volume is missing. B. II. 9.—Jerome on the Minor Prophets, also given by Carileph, and of his time. B. II. 13.—St. Augus-

tine on the Psalter; another of Carileph's gifts. At p. 102, above the letter J, is the figure of our Lord in benediction. The letter itself encloses a portrait (?) of Bishop Carileph, vested, and leaning on his staff. The bishop's name is written at the side. Below, on his knees, is a monk (probably the artist), with the name Robert Benjamin. B. II. 8.—Jerome on Isaiah, full of illuminations. A. I. 8.—Homilies. At p. 170, the commencement of Berengarius on the Apocalypse, is a very grand representation of our Lord enthroned, "His hair like wool," with the sword of the spirit proceeding from His mouth, and seven stars, in the form of a cross in His hand. The majesty of conception, and the skill with which it has been carried out, are most unusual at this period—about 1150. The design is not unworthy of Fra Angelico. A. II. 1. The Vulgate, in four folio volumes, in minuscules. This was written by command of Bishop Hugh de Puiset (Pudsay, 1153—1195), and presented by him to the monastery. It is a very magnificent book, written on the finest vellum, but has suffered terribly from the rapacity of destructive "collectors," and, it is said, from Dr. Dobson's (1695—1718) nursemaids, who were allowed free access to the library, where they cut out illuminations to amuse the canon's children. At p. 132, vol. iii., is a very curious illumination of a battle of the Maccabees, well illustrating the armour of the twelfth century. In vol. iv. pp. 1-10, are the Eusebian tables under arcaded work, already mentioned (§ XII.) in connection with the wall arcade in the

cathedral. These volumes are in their original stamped leather binding, with brass knobs. The first volume retains the original straps. Bindings of this antiquity are of the utmost rarity, and the devices stamped on the covers deserve careful attention. They resemble grotesques of the same period occurring in architecture and in MS. illuminations. A. II. 19.—St. Paul's Epistles, with a glossary; also given by Bishop Hugh. Beautiful illuminated letters commence each epistle. Remark especially, at the beginning of that to the Ephesians (p. 200), a gorgeous interlaced P on a blue ground. This retains the original linen cloth to protect it. At p. 250 is the martyrdom of St. Paul. A. II. 11.—A very beautiful glossed Psalter of the early thirteenth century. Great skill and knowledge of art are shown in the small illuminations, and the very graceful initial letters display wonderful power. Pages 56, 92, 122, 155, are especially remarkable. Some portions of the Anglo-Saxon gospels are attached to this MS. B. III. 30.—Collectanea de Monachis, of the thirteenth century, in the writing of Prior Wessington. H. 100.—Reginald of Coldingham (generally called Reginald of Durham) on St. Cuthbert, end of twelfth century. This was the first book published by the Surtees Society. A. II. 3.—A Bible of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, filled with illuminations. The monk writing on the first page, and standing figures at pp. 317, 318, should be noticed. The colours used are of extraordinary brilliancy, especially the azures. A. II. 19.—Berchorii Reperto-

rium Morale, in 5 vols. The date is 1395. The borders are very rich and good. C. I. 14.—Andreas on the Decretals, of the fourteenth century. At pp. 191, 192, 193, are some fine heraldic illuminations.

XXXII. The *prior's house*, opening from the south-east corner of the cloisters, is the present deanery. The arrangements and ancient portions of this house have been for the first time examined and described by Mr. Gordon Hills.[t] On the south side of the entrance, and ranging with the passage which leads into the abbey yard, is an apartment "divided into two avenues by four semicircular arches without moulding, and carried on square piers, each avenue covered with a plain barrel-vault. A door once led through its west side into the low vaulted passage which forms the exit from the south-east angle of the cloister."[u] This, it is suggested, may have been the original Frater House of the monks, built on their first introduction in 1083. It is of the same very early character as the cellarage on the opposite side of the passage (§ XXVIII.). The present dining room and hall of the deanery formed the prior's dining-hall; and a window at the south end is probably the work of Prior Washington; as may be the present hall ceiling of carved oak. The prior's chapel, which projected into the abbey yard, at the south-east angle of his house, is now divided into three bedrooms; and a long vaulted chamber beneath it, in

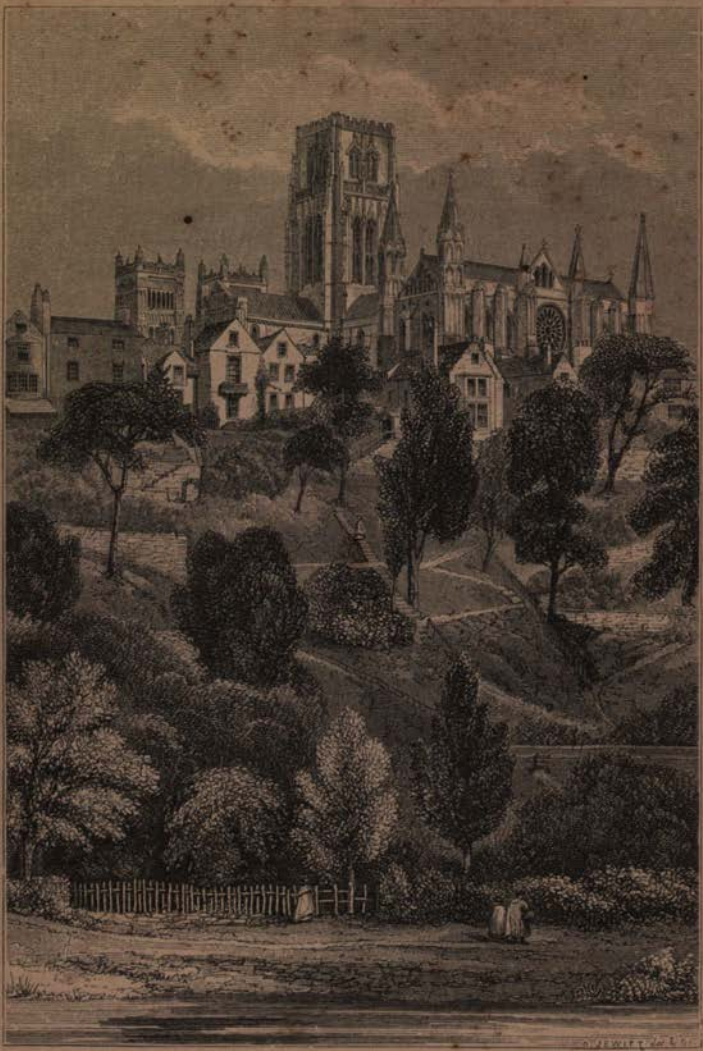
[t] 'The Cathedral and Monastery of St. Cuthbert at Durham,' in the Journal of the Archæological Association, vol. xxii.

[u] G. O. Hills.

very perfect condition, is of the early part of the thirteenth century.

The *abbey yard*, into which there is a passage from the east walk of the cloister, had on its south side the *guest hall* of the convent. It was divided into aisles by piers and arches. The only trace of it which now remains is a crypt about 50 feet long, and divided by a row of Early English columns. This is in the kitchen of the Canon's residence attached to the third stall. On the north side, adjoining the refectory, is the monastic *kitchen*, a very fine example, begun in 1368, and finished toward the middle of the year 1370. It is an octagonal building, with a remarkable groined roof, and communicated on one side with the cellarer's offices, and on another, by staircases, with the refectory. There was also a passage from the kitchen to the guest hall. The *infirmary* of the monks was placed west of the dormitory, between it and the edge of the cliff. Some portions of it remain underneath the Canons' houses which now occupy the site. Adjoining, and also on the edge of the cliff, were the *Latrines*. Some Norman work in the west wall of the dormitory, visible from the small garden beyond it, indicates that the earlier dormitory, destroyed either in the thirteenth century or for John of Middleton's operations, was of that date.

The *great gateway* on the east side of the abbey yard was built by Prior Castell (1494-1519). Above it was the chapel of St. Helen, with a sleeping room for its priest. This chapel has been restored and made



EAST END, EASTERN TRANSEPT, OR "NINE ALTARS"
DURHAM CATHEDRAL. From St. Oswald's Churchyard.

fireproof; and a number of statues removed from the Cathedral at different periods of its restoration or destruction are deposited here.

XXXIII. Returning to the *exterior* of the Cathedral, we come first to the east front of the Nine Altars. (Plate X. This view is from the river bank.) Like the whole of the north front, this was cut down, pared, and in fact destroyed by Wyatt at the end of the last century. It can hardly be said that even the original design remains, since the flanking turrets were rebuilt in a style approved by Wyatt, but which is certainly not Early English. The north gable displays the beautiful Early Decorated window, with a graceful arcade above it; but the turret west of this gable is Wyatt's rebuilding, and in constructing it all traces on the exterior of Bishop Bek's funeral portal were obliterated. In a niche on this turret is the famous *Dun Cow*, a sculpture which in all probability suggested rather than commemorated the legend that, after the removal from Chester-le-Street, St. Cuthbert announced in a vision his determination to rest at Dunholm. The place was unknown; but whilst the monks were wandering in search of it, a woman was heard asking another if she had seen her cow that had strayed, and the answer was, "It is down in Dunholm,"[x] the site of the existing cathedral. No such story is told by Simeon of Durham; and it seems likely, as both Hutchinson and Surtees suggested, that the

[x] "Dun-holm," "Dunelmium," "Durham," signifies the "hill meadow."

ancient sculpture typified the riches of the church, "flowing with milk and honey." The present sculpture is modern, and represents a well-bred short-horned cow, attended by two milk-maids, in the dress of the last century, with their pails.

The unhappy condition of the north front has already (§ IV.), been noticed. The blind arcade under the aisle windows should be remarked. The Norman turrets rising above the gable of the north transept have been greatly injured and altered; and the pediment of the gable between them, which had been covered with Norman lozenge work, was pared down, the Norman ornamentation destroyed, and the existing nondescript niches inserted. In the spandrils above the great window of the transept were two figures in roundels, said to represent Priors Forcer and Castell, one the maker, the other the restorer of the Decorated window below.[7] These were destroyed, and in their stead were inserted a full-length figure (from his seal) of Bishop Hugh de Puiset (with whom this part of the church has no connexion), and a so-called prior in his chair.

XXXIV. The great central tower (212 feet high) is in its present state, above the roof, of Perpendicular character. Bishop Farnham (1241-1249) built a "lantern" above the low Norman tower; and Pryor Derlyngton (1258-1274) raised a belfry over it. This was set on fire by lightning in 1429, and so much injured that the repairs cost 233*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The tower

[7] Raine's 'Brief Account.'

was again in a state of great decay in 1456, and the rebuilding then begun was not finished in 1474, when Prior Bell writes of the "re-edification of our steeple, begun, but not finished in default of goods, as God knoweth." As high as the exterior gallery, above the great lantern windows, the walls of the tower may perhaps be Derlyngton's work; but the windows themselves, the gallery, and the upper stage of the tower, are late Perpendicular. In 1812 this upper stage, under the direction of Atkinson the architect, was covered with Roman cement; and the whole of the tower was made to suffer serious indignities. In 1859 the restoration of the tower was happily placed in the hands of Mr. G. G. Scott. The cement has been removed. The buttresses, which had been pared away, have been thickened. The entire upper stage has been faced with stone. "The old figures, of which the tower had been denuded, have been reinstated, twenty-seven in number, and the requisite new ones, thirteen in number, have been added, so as to fill up the niches, even those on the west side, which appear not to have been previously filled."[x] In its present condition, the tower is certainly the truest "restoration" as yet made in any part of the cathedral; and its grand and massive strength is well in keeping with the Norman church below. It was from the top of this tower (then probably not higher than the external gallery) that the monks are said to have watched the battle of Neville's Cross (October 17, 1346).

[x] Records of Chapter expenses.

A drawing in the library, illustrating the Norman cathedral as it is supposed to have been when perfect, shows each triforium window of the nave within a small dormer-like gable. Above one or two of the triforium lights on the north side of the nave there are certainly marks indicating that some kind of triangular heading or ornament formerly existed; but no traces of the sort can be seen within, where the whole of the existing wall appears to be of undisturbed Norman masonry. The scraping and paring operations, moreover, which were carried over the whole exterior, render any conclusion from such marks very uncertain; and it may well be doubted whether the triforium of any Norman church can have been roofed as suggested in the drawing.

XXXV. The *western towers*, fine as they still are, suffered not a little from the paring which they underwent at the same time as the north front (circ. 1778). The parapet and turrets which now crown these towers were then added. Until the year 1667 they had been capped by lofty spires of wood, covered with lead. The Norman work of these towers, of the same apparent date as the nave (there is no record of their construction) terminates at the height of the nave walls (above the clerestory). The upper stages, covered with arcades, alternately of pointed and circular arches, are Early English, still retaining some transitional features. The whole of the west front, as seen from the opposite bank of the river, is wonderfully picturesque. (Plate XI. The point of view is

DURHAM CATHEDRAL. WEST END. WITH GALILEE

from the left bank of the Wear, a little above Framwellgate bridge.) The Galilee, projecting below, with its buttressed front, seems to give additional strength and support to the entire structure.

XXXVI. The *distant views* of the cathedral are all fine; and from every point of high ground in the neighbourhood of the city the vast church is seen dominating over the river valley, and even over the strength of the castle beside it. The views from the railway station and from Framwell-gate Bridge have already been mentioned. The beautiful walks on the left bank of the Wear afford numerous excellent points of view, with the best of all foregrounds, rich masses of forest leafage. The remarkable bend here made by the river produces so curious an illusion that a stranger might easily be made to believe in the existence of two cathedrals. There is a very fine view from the churchyard of St. Giles; another from the "Prior's path," on the way to Beaurepaire; and a still finer, which should on no account be missed, from a spot called "Nine Trees," in a field at the end of the old Elvete. A fine sunset from this place will never be forgotten. The dark towering masses of the cathedral projected against a glowing sky afford such a picture as Turner alone has succeeded in recording.

XXXVII. Of the *castle*, as the palace of the bishops, only a brief architectural notice can here be given. It was founded in 1072 by the Conqueror, but suffered greatly from fire in the time of Bishop Hugh de Puiset, and was rebuilt by him about 1174. Bishop Hatfield

(1345-1381) built the octagonal keep tower and the great hall. Bishop Fox (1494-1501) curtailed this hall, but built the great kitchen and the buttery. Bishop Tunstall (1530-1559) constructed a gallery in front of Bishop Hugh's Norman work, and built the chapel. Bishop Neile (1617-1628) further curtailed the great hall, taking a room out of its northern end. In 1647 the whole fabric of the castle was sold by the Parliament to Thomas Andrews, Lord Mayor of London, for 1267*l.* After the Restoration, Bishop Cosin (1660-1672) put the castle into complete repair, and built the great black staircase. Bishop Crewe (1674-1721) repaired the shell of the great tower; and Bishop Barrington (1791-1826) rebuilt the gateway.

The portions of the castle which deserve especial notice are, the interlacing Norman arcade and the Norman portal, both Bishop Hugh's work;—(the latter was approached from the courtyard by a flight of steps. Both are now enclosed in Tunstall's gallery. The portal, very rich and elaborate, should be compared with the Prior's doorway in the cloisters of the cathedral [§ xxvii.])—the Norman chapel (so called) on the ground-floor of the keep; the great hall, still very picturesque, in spite of successive changes and curtailments; and the black staircase, of carved oak, the very striking work of Bishop Cosin. From the top of the keep there is an excellent view of the whole north side of the cathedral.

DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.[a]

THE see of LINDISFARNE, the most ancient representative of that of Durham, was founded by Oswald of Northumbria in the year 635; when, after the departure of Paulinus in 633, Deira, the southern portion of Northumbria, had relapsed into paganism. It was chosen as the place of the see by Aidan, who was sent at Oswald's request from Iona, and who became the first of a series of bishops by whom the observances of the Scottish Church were recognised. These were—

[A.D. 635—651.] AIDAN.
[A.D. 651—661.] FINAN.
[A.D. 661—664.] COLMAN; and
[A.D. 664—5.] TUDA.

Throughout this period, Lindisfarne was the only episcopal see in Northumbria. The humility, the unwearied diligence, and the simple life of these Scottish bishops are dwelt on with delight by Bede: "Tota fuit tune solicitudo doctoribus illis Deo serviendi, non seculo; tota cura cordis excolendi, non ventris."[b]

[a] The lives of the Bishops of Durham have been excellently written by Surtees ('History of Durham,' vol. i.). Much use has necessarily been made of these lives in the following notices.

[b] Beda, H. E., L. iii. c. 26.

Between the years 665 and 678, the see of Northumbria was either vacant or was held by Wilfrid, who made York once more the place of the see. In 678 Theodore of Canterbury divided the vast diocese into four bishoprics—the sees of which he placed at York, Lindisfarne, Hexham, and Whitherne in Galloway. (See *York Cathedral*, Pt. II.) The first Bishop of Lindisfarne under this new arrangement was—

[A.D. 678—685.] EATA, who had been abbot of the religious house established by Aidan at Lindisfarne, and which had continued to exist since the death of Tuda. Eata was at first Bishop of both Lindisfarne and Hexham. Trumbert, however, became Bishop of Hexham in 681, and was succeeded in that see by Cuthbert in 684. In the following year Eata removed to Hexham, and Cuthbert took his place as Bishop of Lindisfarne.

[A.D. 685—688.] CUTHBERT, the famous saint and bishop to whom the Church of Durham is in a great degree indebted for her special pre-eminence, has been fortunate in his biographer. His life was written in both verse and prose by the Venerable Bede, who himself took extreme care to ascertain the truth of the facts which he records, and who founded his own narrative on a somewhat earlier biography, which is anonymous, but was no doubt written by a monk of Lindisfarne. The life by Bede is for every reason most important and instructive.[c]

A later tradition made Cuthbert a descendant of the Irish kings, "regiis parentibus ortus;" but of this Bede knows nothing; and it seems probable that he was born of humble parents somewhere in the district now known as the Lothians. He is first heard of on the banks of the Scottish Tyne, which falls into the sea north of Dunbar; and after-

[c] All these lives will be found in Stevenson's edition of Bede's 'Opera Historica,' vol. ii. Much curious local information relating to Lindisfarne and St. Cuthbert is detailed in Raine's 'St Cuthbert.' Durham, 1828.

wards as a shepherd in the valley of the Lauder. At a very early age he devoted himself to a religious life in the abbey of Melrose, founded, it is said, by Aidan, the first Bishop of Lindisfarne. Eata, afterwards Bishop of Lindisfarne, was at this time Abbot of Melrose, and Boisil was the name of the Prior. Eata shortly afterwards was appointed head of the newly-established monastic house at Ripon, and Cuthbert went with him as hostellar. (See *Ripon Cathedral*, Pt. II.) From Ripon he returned again to Melrose, and fell sick of a pestilence which was then ravaging the country. He recovered; but a tumour, then first appearing, continued to trouble him for the rest of his life. Boisil the Prior, who had taught and been the master of Cuthbert, died of the pestilence; and Cuthbert himself then became Prior of Melrose. At this time he was in the habit of traversing all the wild country in the district, instructing the people, and often remaining absent from his monastery for weeks at a time. In the year 664 he left Melrose and became Prior of Lindisfarne, under Eata, who was then Abbot.

As a monk of Lindisfarne the life of Cuthbert was one of extreme mortification and humility; but, in 676, after the lapse of twelve years, he determined to adopt that of a hermit. He found a cell at first on the mainland, not far from Lindisfarne; but soon retired to Farne, the largest of the group of islands which together are named from it, and are at no great distance from his old convent. Aidan, the bishop, had frequently withdrawn himself to Farne for solitary prayer; but there was no building on the island, and Cuthbert constructed a rude circular cell of unhewn stones and turf. Here for a space of nine years he remained in solitude, occasionally visited by his brethren from Lindisfarne; until in 685, at a synod held at Twyford on the Alne, over which Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury presided, Tumberct, Bishop of Hexham, was deposed, and Cuthbert was unanimously called on to fill the vacant see. He refused, until the whole synod, with King Egfrid at its

head, sought him on his solitary island. Their entreaties prevailed, and Cuthbert was consecrated by Theodore and six assisting bishops. In the same year an exchange of sees was effected between Eata, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and Cuthbert.

As Bishop of Lindisfarne, Cuthbert laboured even more indefatigably than he had done as Prior of Melrose, visiting the wildest and remotest part of his diocese, teaching, confirming, and strengthening the half-heathen people. In 687, feeling the approach of death, he returned to his solitary cell at Farne, and there, within a few weeks, he died. The striking details of his last illness are recorded at great length by Bede.

His body was conveyed to Lindisfarne and buried in a stone coffin on the right side of the altar. He gave an express command to his attendant Herefrid that "rather than consent to the iniquity of schismatics" his remains should be lifted from their grave, and that the brethren should flee with them, "sojourning where God should provide."

It was in obedience to this command—though the danger was from heathens and not schismatics—that the coffin of St. Cuthbert was removed from Lindisfarne, and at last found its resting-place at Durham.

Cuthbert was succeeded at Lindisfarne by ten bishops—

[A.D. 688—698.] EADBERT.
[A.D. 698—721.] EADFRID.
[A.D. 724—740.] ETHELWOLD.
[A.D. 740—780.] CYNEWULF.
[A.D. 780—803.] HIGBALD.
[A.D. 803—821.] EGBERT.
[A.D. 821—830.] HEATHURED.
[A.D. 830—845.] EGFRID.
[A.D. 845—853.] EANBERT; and
[A.D. 854—900.] EARDULPH.

In the time of the first of these, Eadbert, the body of

St. Cuthbert, eleven years after his death, was raised from the ground and placed above the pavement in a coffin or shrine, "dignæ venerationis gratia." The body, it is asserted, was found incorrupt. (See Pt. I., § XXIII.) In the time of Bishop Ethelwold, Ceolfwulf, King of Northumbria, became a monk at Lindisfarne. Under Higbald, the Northmen made their first descent on Lindisfarne, and plundered the church. The monks fled; but on their return found that the body of St. Cuthbert had been undisturbed.[d] In the days of Bishop Eardulph (in 875) occurred that great invasion of the Northmen which compelled the bishop and his monks to take flight a second time from Lindisfarne, which henceforth ceased to be the place of the see. They took with them the wooden coffin or shrine containing the body of St. Cuthbert, having placed in it the head of St. Oswald,[e] besides some relics of St. Aidan and of other bishops. For eight years they wandered from place to place, intending at one time to pass into Ireland, but were prevented by a storm. In 882 they arrived with the body of the saint at Craik, in Yorkshire, a place which had been given to Cuthbert himself by King Egfrid. The Danes had by this time established themselves permanently in Northumbria. Eadred, one of the attendants on the shrine, asserted that St. Cuthbert had appeared to him, directing him to find a certain Guthred, son of Harthacnut, and to present him to the Danes as King of Northumbria. Guthred was found and accepted by the "host" of the

[d] Sim. Dunelm.

[e] The head of St. Oswald, which, after his death at Maserfelth, in 642, had been placed on a stake by the heathen victor, and left on the battle-field, was removed by Oswald's successor, Oswi, and buried in the cemetery at Lindisfarne, where Aidan was then bishop: "In cemeterio . . . condidit.' (Beda, H. E., L. iii. c. 12.) It was no doubt afterwards placed in the church. A skull, supposed to be St. Oswald's, was found on the opening of Cuthbert's coffin, in 1827. (See Part I., § xxiv.) St. Cuthbert was constantly represented bearing the head of St. Oswald in his arms.

Northmen. He took St. Cuthbert and his followers under his protection; and in 883, at the instance of Guthred, they removed to Cuncacestre, or *Chester-le-Street*, about seven miles north of Durham. There a wooden cathedral was built, and Chester-le-Street continued the place of the see until in 995 it was removed to Durham. Guthred is said to have bestowed on St. Cuthbert the whole of the land between the Tyne and the Tees; and his gift was confirmed by Alfred the Great, who obtained the supremacy of Northumbria after 894.

The bishops of *Chester-le-Street* (after Eardulph, who died in 900) were—

[A.D. 900—915.] CUTHEARD.
[A.D. 915—928.] TILRED.
[A.D. 928—944.] WIGRED.
[A.D. 944—947.] UHTRED.
[A.D. 947.] SEXHELM.
[A.D. 947—968.] ALDRED.
[A.D. 968—990.] ELFSIG; and
[A.D. 990—1018.] EALDHUN, who removed the see.

In the time of Bishop Wigred (in 934) Athelstane visited the shrine at Chester-le-Street, on his way into Scotland, and left many rich gifts for Saint Cuthbert. (See Pt. I., § XXX.) His brother Eadmund also visited it, as did Eadred in 948. Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, was at Chester-le-Street during Elfsig's episcopate, and raised the lid of St. Cuthbert's coffin, "placing on the body a pledge of his love."

The part which BISHOP EALDHUN took in establishing the place of the see at Durham has already been noticed at length in Pt. I., § II. He fled with his clergy from Chester-le-Street in 995, fearing the approach of the Northmen; and, after a stay of three or four months at Ripon, they returned northward, visiting the site of the future Durham on their way. The shrine of St. Cuthbert, says the legend, became immoveable at a place, called by Simeon, Wrdeland, some-

what east of Durham; and, after a fast of three days, the saint communicated to Eadmer, one of the clergy, his determination to be conveyed to Durham. In that direction accordingly the shrine was carried without difficulty. The death of Ealdhun is said to have been caused by grief at the result of the battle of Carham on the Tweed (1018), in which the Scots gained a decisive victory over the whole force of the Bernician Earldom. Ealdhun's "stone church" had then been finished, with the exception of a western tower.[f]

Three years passed, probably owing to the disturbed condition of the country, before

[A.D. 1020—1040.] EADMUND succeeded. During his episcopate Cnut visited the shrine, proceeding to it from Trimdon, five miles from Durham, barefooted, and in the habit of a pilgrim. Staindrop, with its appendages, was then bestowed on the church by Cnut. The remains of Bede, with other relics acquired by the sacrist Alfred, were brought to Durham in the days of Bishop Eadmund (see Pt. I., § xix.), who, virtuous and noble, was a zealous defender of St. Cuthbert's privileges.

[A.D. 1041—1042.] EADRED, a secular priest, obtained possession of the see for a few months.

[A.D. 1042—resigned 1056.] ETHELRIC, or EGELRIC, had been a monk of Peterborough. The convent resisted his election as the intrusion of an alien, and he was expelled in the third year of his episcopate, but shortly restored by the authority of Siward Earl of Northumbria. He is said to have found a large treasure in removing the foundations of the wooden church at Chester-le-Street. This treasure he sent to Peterborough, where he retired himself, and constructed with it "ways" through the marshes. (That from Spalding to Deeping is still called Elrichrode.) The clergy of Durham accused Egelric of stealing their treasures. He was sent for

[f] De ecclesia quam inceperat solam turrim occidentalem imperfectam reliquit.—Sim. Dunelm.

to London, and died in prison in 1072, having resigned the see of Durham in 1056; when it was conferred on his brother.

[A.D. 1056—1071.] ETHELWIN, or EGELWIN, who had already administered the secular affairs of the bishopric. Egelwin fell on the troubled times of the Conquest. With the Earls Eadwin and Morcar he swore allegiance to William at York; but the province was still unconquered; and when Comyn was despatched to Durham by the Norman king, he and his immediate followers were burnt with the house in which they had taken refuge, and the rest of his soldiery were overpowered and slaughtered. The result was the entire devastation of the country by William. The bishop and clergy of Durham fled to Lindisfarne; and had not long returned, after the departure of the Normans, when Northumberland was again ravaged by Malcolm of Scotland, Egelwin embarked with much treasure for Cologne; but was thrown by a storm on the coast of Scotland, whence, taking part with Eadwin and Morcar, he returned to England, was taken with the rest in the Isle of Ely, and sent prisoner to Abingdon, where he died in confinement. The see remained vacant nearly a year, when

[A.D. 1071—1080.] WALCHER OF LORRAINE was consecrated to it. He received also from William the Earldom of Northumberland; and it is probable that the Palatinate jurisdiction now for the first time assumed definite shape (See Pt. I. § II.) "Owning henceforth, within the limits of the Palatinate, no earthly superior, the successive Prelates of Durham continued for four centuries to exercise every right attached to a distinct and independent sovereignty."[s]

"Solum Dunelmense stolâ judicat et ense"

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[s] Surtees. See post, *Bishop Tunstall* (1530—1559) for the first change in the powers of the Palatinate jurisdiction; and *Bishop Van Mildert* (1826—1836) for its final extinction.

ran the monastic verse. The officers of Walcher, however, Leofwin the Archdeacon, and Gilbert the bishop's kinsman, to whom the secular administration was entrusted, wielded this great power without moderation. Liulph, an English noble connected with the families of Siward and Gospatric, remonstrated with the bishop; and was soon afterwards assassinated with part of his household. The people became furious; and Walcher, who had convened a council at Gateshead, close to Newcastle, was there killed. The cry having been raised, "Good rede short rede, slea ye the bishop," Walcher took refuge in the church; but that was set on fire, and in attempting to escape he fell pierced by lances on the threshold. His body was found by the monks of Jarrow, who conveyed it to Durham, where it was buried. Walcher's death was followed by a fresh devastation of Northumbria, under Odo, the warlike bishop of Bayeux.

The see remained vacant for six months, until

[A.D. 1081-1096.] William of St. Carileph, so named from the bourg and Abbey of St. Calais (S. Carilephus) on the southern border of Maine, where he either was born or took his first vows as a Benedictine—was consecrated at Gloucester by Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of William the Conqueror and all the bishops of the realm.[h] He had been Abbot of St. Vincent's, in Normandy; and was, according to Simeon of Durham, "acerrimus ingenio, subtilis consilio, magnæ eloquentiæ simul et sapientiæ."[i] William made him Grand Justiciary of England; and the privileges and possessions of the see of Durham were confirmed to Carileph after Gregory VII. had issued a bull for the full re-establishment of the see, the land of which had suffered greatly during the troubles of the conquest. Carileph himself asserts that he found

[h] Præsente Willelmo rege, et totius Angliæ astantibus episcopis. —Sim. Dunelm., L. iii. c. 19

[i] Sim. Dunelm. ut sup.

the bishopric "pene desolata." He removed the monks from Wearmouth and Jarrow to Durham (Pt. I. § III.); but on the accession of Rufus, Carileph joined the Norman nobles who supported the claims of Duke Robert, and after the suppression of the insurrection was compelled to leave England. He fled into Normandy; the castle of Durham and the temporalities of the see were seized for the king; and it was not until three years had passed that, in 1091, a reconciliation was effected, and the bishop was restored to his see. For his works at Durham, and his services to the church there, see Pt. I. § III. The monks regarded him with great affection; and Simeon, who knew him personally, commends him highly: "Monachos ut pater dulcissimus filios carissimos amplectebatur, protegebat, fovebat, et summa discretione regebat."[k] He again fell under William's displeasure, and was summoned to Windsor, whither he travelled with difficulty, suffering from great sickness, and died soon after his arrival, January 6th, 1095. The monks and bishops who were present at his death-bed desired him to permit his burial within the walls of his church; but no grave had as yet been made within the building which contained the incorrupt body of St. Cuthbert; and Carileph, rejecting the proposal, desired to be buried on the north side of the chapter-house.

After the death of Carileph the see remained vacant for three years. At last

[A.D. 1099—1128.] RALPH RAMBARD, the favourite and special minister of Rufus, was consecrated to it. On the death of Rufus in 1100, Flambard was deprived and imprisoned. He escaped to Normandy; and after Duke Robert's invasion of England, Flambard, like the rest of his adherents, was pardoned and restored in accordance with the terms of the treaty. He regained his bishopric; but meanwhile many portions had been severed, which

[k] Sim. Dunelm., L. iv. c. 5.

were never recovered for the see. The see of Carlisle was founded, the district subject to which had hitherto formed part of the diocese of Durham; Hexham was given to the Archbishop of York; and a part of Teviotdale was assigned to the see of Glasgow. After his restoration Flambard had little to do with the court, and busied himself in his diocese. His works at the cathedral are mentioned Pt. I. §§ III. X. Framwellgate bridge in the city was also built by him. He built and endowed the hospital of Kepyer; and founded Norham Castle, on the Tweed.

Flambard, low-born, time-serving, rapacious, and utterly without religion, is described with horror by almost every monastic historian. He did much, however, for Durham and his cathedral; and at the approach of death, he caused himself to be carried into the church, where he offered his ring at the high altar, in token of restitution thus made of the many possessions and privileges he had detained or violated. He was buried in the Chapter-house.

[A.D. 1133—1140.] GALFRID RUFUS, OR THE RED, Chancellor of England, was consecrated after the see had been vacant five years. Little is recorded of him. The Battle of the Standard (August 22nd, 1138) was fought during his episcopate; and the Scots, on their way southward, burnt and destroyed the castle of Norham, but avoided Durham itself.

On Galfrid's death the see was seized by a certain William Cumin, a Scottish priest, who had been in much favour with Galfrid. Cumin declared himself a supporter of the Empress Matilda; and his usurpation of the see was favoured by those barons of the bishopric who were on her side. The Prior and convent, however, refused to elect him. Edgar, king of Scotland, himself visited Durham, and the Empress sent mandatory letters, but without effect. Cumin retained in his hands the temporalities of the see; but the monks despatched messengers to Rome, and three

years after Galfrid's death they returned, bringing with them the Papal order for a regular election. The Prior and convent accordingly chose

[A.D. 1143—1152.] WILLIAM DE ST. BARBE, or OF S. BARBARA, their Dean, who was then absent in London. The first year after his election passed in ceaseless strife between the partizans of Bishop William and those who still adhered to Cumin. To the latter all the barons of the bishopric had sworn homage, except Roger Conyers, of Bishopton. By his help the new bishop was able to make head against the party of Cumin, who at length suddenly submitted himself, apparently having found his cause hopeless. William of St. Barbara was accordingly enthroned October 18th, 1144. "Moribus insignis, statura et canitie venerabilis, hospitalitatis obsequio deditus, et continuis eleemosinis intentus" is the description of Bishop William, given by Geoffrey of Coldingham.

[A.D. 1153—1195.] HUGH DE PUISET, or PUDSIACUS, generally known as HUGH PUDSEY, succeeded. He was a nephew of King Stephen; and though only twenty-five years of age, was at the time of his election Archdeacon of Winchester and Treasurer of York. The Archbishop of York opposed the election of Hugh, not only on account of his youth, but because his own authority as Metropolitan had not been recognised by the electors (see *York*, Pt. II., *Arbp. Murdac*); and it was only after submitting to a severe discipline that the Prior and convent were pardoned. In the mean time the bishop elect had proceeded to Rome, where, not without some difficulty, the new Pope Anastasius IV. consented to consecrate him.

Hugh de Puiset was a powerful and ambitious prelate. He bought from the Crown the Earldom of Northumberland for his life; and the shire, or wapentake of Sadberge, in perpetuity for the see. He prepared to accompany Richard to the Holy Land, and caused a galley to be built for his own use, in which was a throne of silver, "mirandi

operis et decoris, ut majorum Episcoporum sive Ducum gloriam superaret."[1] The king, however, offered Bishop Hugh a position of trust and honour during his own absence, on condition of receiving a "loan" of the treasures which Hugh had accumulated for the crusade. A gift of 100 marks was also required; and the Bishop was then made Justiciary of England and Governor of Windsor; becoming also, when the kingdom was divided into two portions, Governor of the district north of Humber. But Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, governor of the southern district, was more powerful than Hugh. He imprisoned the Bishop of Durham, who was only released after ceding Windsor, the town of Newcastle, and the Earldom of Northumberland. On the return of Richard, the bishop fell again into disfavour; since it was asserted that he had wrung enormous sums from the subjects of the Palatinate on pretence of applying them to the king's ransom. Hugh was accordingly severely fined and mulcted. At the age of seventy he undertook a journey southwards, in order to see the king, and to seek for new honours; but he fell sick at Craik, and was with difficulty brought back to Howden, where he died. His body was conveyed to Durham, and buried in the Chapter-house.

Bishop Hugh was a great and magnificent builder. The Galilee in the Cathedral was his work (see Pt. I. § XVII.), besides much restoration and addition in Durham Castle (Pt. I. § XXXVII.) He built Elvet bridge in Durham, and much of the city wall; added the Keep tower at Norham; founded the hospitals of Sherburn near Durham, and of St. James at Northallerton; rebuilt the greater part of the church at Darlington; and left in complete repair the manor houses belonging to the see. However fond of secular state and magnificence Bishop Hugh may have been, and however he may have oppressed the men of the Palatinate (of which, however, there is little proof), it is

[1] Gaufrid de Coldingham, c. viii.

certain that he did more for his see than any bishop who had hitherto filled it. The 'Boldon Book,' or 'Domesday' of the county of Durham (so named from Boldon, the first place mentioned in it) was compiled by his order. It contains an exact account of all the lands in ancient demesne, and of all the tenures in drengage and villenage throughout the bishopric.

The see remained vacant for two years; until

[A.D. 1197—1208.] PHILIP OF POITOU, a councillor and favourite of King Richard was elected. He was not in priest's orders at the time of his election; but was ordained in Durham Cathedral by the Bishop of Llandaff; and afterwards consecrated at Rome by Pope Celestine, April 20th, 1197.

Throughout his episcopate he was at feud with the monks; at one time placing the convent in a state of siege; at another surrounding the church with soldiers; lighting great fires at the doors and windows;[m] and, finally, dragging the prior and others from the high altar, during the festival of St. Cuthbert. Philip was a zealous adherent of King John; and supported him in his resistance to the see of Rome. He was excommunicated accordingly; and dying before he could be released from the sentence, was buried without the precincts of the Cathedral.

Long disputes concerning the election of a successor followed; and it was not until nine years after the death of Philip that

[A.D. 1217—1226.] RICHARD OF MARSH, OR DE MARISCO, was chosen at the nomination of the Papal Legate. He was Chancellor of England at the time of his consecration; but nothing is known of his family or descent. Like his predecessor he was at constant feud with the convent;

[m] Ecclesiam videretur convertisse in carcerem, dum custodiam armatorum circumponeret, ignem et fumum hostiis et fenestris adhiberi præciperet, cybum inclusis inferri, ut vel fame cederent, prohiberet.—Gaufrid. de Coldingham, c. xiii.

and the monks accused him to the Holy See of bloodshed, simony, and sacrilege. The disputes in consequence were only terminated by the bishop's death in the Abbey of Peterborough. His body was brought to Durham, and buried in the Chapter-house.

A contest for the right of election between the convent and the crown again followed. At last

[A.D. 1228—1237.] Richard le Poore was translated from Salisbury. The new bishop terminated the disputes which had existed between the convent and the two former prelates, by a solemn act of convention in 1231. At Salisbury (to which see he had been translated from Chichester in 1217) he had removed his cathedral from Old Sarum to its present site, and had continued the building of his new church until his translation to Durham. The new eastern work at Durham was begun during his episcopate (Pt. I. § xx.)

The bishop died at his birth-place, Tarrant, in Dorsetshire; where he had founded a house of Cistercian nuns. His heart was interred there. His body was brought to Durham.

Three years of struggle for the right of election followed.

[A.D. 1241—1248.] Nicholas of Farnham, the Queen's physician, was finally chosen, with the consent of both crown and convent. He voluntarily resigned the bishopric in 1249; reserving for his life the manors of Howden, Easington, and Stockton. At Stockton he died in 1257.

[A.D. 1249—1260.] Walter of Kirkham, Dean of York, succeeded. He founded the cell of Warkworth; and died at Howden, whence his body was conveyed to Durham.

[A.D. 1261—1274.] Robert of Stichill, had been a Benedictine of Durham, and Prior of Finchale. The church of Howden, in Yorkshire, was made collegiate by this bishop, with the consent of the convent. He attended the Council of Lyons in 1274, and died on his road homeward, at the Castle of Arbreules (Arbipellis) in France. His

body was interred in a neighbouring convent. His heart was brought to Durham.

[A.D. 1274—1283.] ROBERT OF HALIELAND (HOLY ISLAND), OR DE INSULA, like his predecessor was Prior of Finchale. He was of humble origin, and Graystanes records the following story of him. He had given to his mother (prius paupercula) a train of servants and an honourable establishment. Once when he went to see her—"And how fares my sweet mother?" said he. "Never worse," quoth she. "And what ails thee or troubles thee? hast thou not men, and women, and attendants sufficient?" "Yea," quoth she, "and more than enough. I say to one, Go, and he runs; to another, Come hither fellow, and the varlet falls down on his knee; and, in short, all things go on so abominably smooth, that my heart is bursting for something to spite me and pick a quarrell withal."[n]

It was during the short interval between Bishop Robert's death and his successor's election, that Wickwaine, Archbishop of York, endeavoured to visit the convent, and narnowly escaped without injury. (See *York*, Pt. II., Archbishop Wickwaine.)

[A.D. 1283—1310.] ANTHONY BEK was elected by the Prior and Convent.

This great bishop, "the proudest lord in Chrestientie"—"le plus vaillant clerk du roiaume"—better skilled in the use of the sword than of the mass-book, was the son of Walter Bek, Baron of Eresby, in Lincolnshire. He was Archdeacon of Durham at the time of his election, and was consecrated in York Minster, January 9*th*, $12\frac{83}{84}$, in presence of Edward I., his Queen Eleanor, and a great assemblage of nobles and prelates. On the same day the new bishop translated the relics of St. William of York, at his own expense, providing a magnificent shrine for them. In the same manner Thomas Bek, brother of Anthony,

[n] Robert de Graystanes, c. xvi. The translation is in Surtees' words.

had translated at his own cost the relics of St. Hugh of Lincoln, on the octave of St. Michael, 1280, on which day he was consecrated in Lincoln Cathedral to the see of St. David's.

The Bishop of Durham joined Edward I. on his march into Scotland in 1296. Twenty-six standard-bearers of his own household, and 140 knights formed his train; and 1000 foot and 500 horse marched under the consecrated banner of St. Cuthbert. These troops formed the van of the royal army. Bishop Bek was absent from the siege of Carlaverock on account of a wound; but he sent 160 men well armed—

> "Onques Artours por touz ces charmes
> Si beau prisent ne ot de Merlyn."

And afterwards, in the battle of Falkirk, he led in person the second line of the English army, with thirty-nine banners. Bishop Bek was not less useful as a politician than as a soldier. In 1292 he was sent into Germany to conclude an alliance with the Emperor Adolph against France; and in 1295 he greatly distinguished himself in a conference with two cardinals whom Boniface VIII. sent into England to treat of a reconciliation between Edward and the King of France. In spite of all his services, however, Bek, and perhaps justly, excited the jealousy and caution of Edward I. The King attacked the privileges and possessions of the bishopric; but without effect, until Bek, obeying a citation to Rome at the instance of the Prior of Durham—between whom and the bishop there were constant disputes—left the realm without licence; and the King (1301) seized the temporalities. Bek obtained restitution in the following year, but in 1305 they were again seized. The forfeited possessions of the Bruces and Baliols—Barnard Castle and Hartlepool—which had been bestowed on Bek, were resumed by the crown, together with other lands which the bishop had received from the

King of Scotland; and Bek remained in disfavour with Edward until the King's death in 1307. Edward II. restored the episcopal lands and honours, except Barnard Castle and Hartlepool; granting instead to the Bishop the regal dignity of the Isle of Man. Bek had already been named by the Pope Patriarch of Jerusalem. In 1310, in the Parliament of Westminster, he joined the party of the Earl of Lancaster against Piers Gaveston; and in the same year he died at his manor-house of Eltham in Kent. His body was brought to Durham, and was the first buried within the walls of the cathedral. (Pt. I. § XXII.)

"The palatine power reached its highest elevation under the splendid pontificate of Anthony Bek. Surrounded by his officers of state, or marching at the head of his troops, in peace or in war, he appeared as the military chief of a powerful and independent franchise. The Court of Durham exhibited all the appendages of royalty, nobles addressed the palatine sovereign kneeling, and instead of menial servants knights waited in his presence chamber and at his table, bareheaded and standing. . . . His liberality knew no bounds, and he regarded no expense, however enormous, when placed in competition with any object of pleasure or magnificence. . . . Surrounded by perpetual luxury, his personal temperance was as strict as it was singular. . . . Not less an enemy to sloth than to intemperance, his leisure was devoted either to splendid progresses from one manor to another, or to the sports of the field; and his activity and temperance preserved his faculties of mind and body vigorous under the approach of age and infirmity."[o]

Bishop Bek built much, but little if at all in Durham itself. In spite of his vast expenses, he died wealthier than any of his predecessors.

[A.D. 1311—1316.] RICHARD KELLAW, had been a monk of Durham. He is described as inflexibly just, humble, and pious; retaining on the episcopal throne all the virtues of

[o] Surtees.

a monk. The Scottish forays under Bruce and Douglas brought the greatest distress on the bishopric during the episcopate of Kellaw. The suburbs of Durham were burnt, and the land everywhere ravaged. The destruction and consequent famine had, it is said, not been equalled on the borders since the days of the Conqueror. In the midst of these troubles Bishop Kellaw died at Bishop's Middleham, and was buried in the chapter-house, refusing to accept the presumptuous honour which had been accorded to Bek.

In spite of much intrigue, and of the desire of the King and Queen for the election of the Queen's kinsman Louis Beaumont, the convent chose Henry of Stamford, Prior of Finchale, for the new bishop. The King would not ratify the election. Stamford proceeded to Rome, but the Pope, John XXII. had, before his arrival, nominated

[A.D. 1318—1333.] Louis Beaumont; at the joint request of the Kings of England and France. Beaumont was accordingly consecrated at Westminster (the see of York was vacant), March 26th, 1318. On his way northward he was met at Rushyford, beyond Darlington, by a body of marauders under Gilbert Middleton, of Northumberland. These plundered and dismissed two cardinals, who with their trains were in the bishop's company on their way into Scotland; and carried off Beaumont himself and his brother Henry, to Mitford Castle. The convent of Durham gave up its stores for the redemption of Bishop Beaumont, and the captives were released.

The monks, to whom Beaumont was neither grateful nor friendly, delighted to dwell on his ignorance, vanity, and petulance. He could read but imperfectly; and during his consecration, finding it difficult to pronounce the words "in ænigmate," he cried, "Par Seynt Lowys il ne fu pas curteis qui ceste parole ici escrite."[p] Scottish wars and tumults continued throughout his episcopate. York-

[p] Graystanes, c. 48.

shire was harried more than once; and the young King, Edward III., made (1327) that attempt to engage the army of the invading Scots among the moors of the bishopric, which is so graphically described by Froissart. Beaumont's name does not appear conspicuously in any of these occasions. He obtained from the crown the restoration of many manors, which had been alienated since the time of Bek, including Barnard Castle and Hartlepool; but in spite of the royal mandate these two places were retained by their lay holders, and never again passed into the hands of the Bishop of Durham.

Bishop Beaumont died at Brantingham, September 28th, 1333, and was buried before the high altar of his Cathedral. It is not well ascertained whether the stone, bearing the matrix of a large brass, which is now seen in the choir (Pt. I. § XVI.), covered the tomb of this bishop, or that of Bishop Skirlaw.

[A.D. 1333—1345.] RICHARD OF BURY succeeded. The monks had chosen the chronicler of their abbey, Robert of Graystanes, but he and they submitted to the King's pleasure.

Richard of Bury, the first English "Bibliomaniac," and the most learned person in England of his time, was the son of Sir Richard Aungerville, a Norman knight; but is far better known from his birth-place, St. Edmondsbury. He was educated at Oxford, and afterwards became a monk in the convent at Durham. Thence he was summoned to become tutor to the young prince, afterwards Edward III. —a choice which was the foundation of his fortunes. In 1325 he was Treasurer of Guienne, and there afforded an asylum to the Queen and Prince when they had been driven into exile by the Despensers. On the accession of Edward III. he became in rapid succession, Cofferer, Treasurer of the Wardrobe, Archdeacon of Northampton, Prebendary of Lincoln, Sarum, and Lichfield, and Keeper of the Privy Seal. He twice proceeded as Ambassador to

Rome; became Dean of Wells in 1332; and on his second return from Rome was met in France by the news of his election to Durham. At his magnificent installation feast were assembled the King and Queen of England, Baliol King of Scotland, two archbishops, seven bishops, five earls, and all the northern nobility. In 1334 he became Lord Chancellor; in 1336, High Treasurer; and retained all his honours until his death.

Bury was more than once employed on embassies to France during the negotiations which preceded the claim of Edward III. on that crown. But, great and powerful as he was, his chief reputation is due to his love of learning, to his collection of a vast store of manuscripts, to the grant of his books to Durham College in Oxford, and to his own remarkable work entitled 'Philobiblon.' Bury was no doubt the most learned person on this side of the Alps; but although this was the age of Petrarch and Boccaccio, scholarship had not yet extended beyond Italy. "We may," says Hallam, "justly praise Richard of Bury for his zeal in collecting books, and still more for his munificence in giving his library to the University of Oxford, with special injunctions that they should be lent to scholars. But his erudition appears crude and uncritical, his style indifferent, and his thoughts superficial. Yet I am not aware that he had any equal in England during this century." [q]

MSS. of the 'Philobiblon' exist in Bishop Cosin's library at Durham, and in the Bodleian. It has been six times printed; first at Spires in 1483.

Bishop Bury's charity and liberality were wide-spread; and the monks had no reason to complain of the choice which had been imposed on them. He was buried in the Nine Altars (Pt. I. § XXII.); but it does not appear that any monument was erected to him.

[A.D. 1345—1381.] THOMAS HATFIELD, Keeper of the Privy Seal at the time of his election, was a son of Sir Walter

[q] Hallam, Introd. to the Literature of Europe, i. p. 80.

Hatfield, of Hatfield in Holderness. Like Anthony Bek he was a skilled warrior, and the year after his consecration he led eighty archers to the siege of Calais. The great event of his episcopate was the battle of Neville's Cross, October 17th, 1346; when, within sight of the monks of Durham, who crowded the towers of their cathedral, the Scots under their King, David Bruce, were defeated; David himself, the Earls of Fife and Menteith, and Sir William Douglas were made prisoners; and a long list of Scottish nobles were slain. On the English side Lord Hastings alone fell. The Archbishop of York, William la Zouche, and the Bishop of Durham were both present in the battle. (See Pt. I. § XXIII.)

Bishop Hatfield seems henceforth to have been chiefly concerned in the affairs of the bishopric. The episcopal throne in the cathedral was raised by him (Pt. I. § XVI.); he thoroughly repaired the Castle of Durham, and rebuilt the Bishop's Hall in it. Durham Place, in the Strand, was also built by him; and he became the second founder of Durham College at Oxford, first established by the Prior and Convent in 1290. Trinity College now occupies its site.

Hatfield died at his manor of Alford, near London, and was buried at Durham, in the tomb which he had prepared during his lifetime.

[A.D. 1381—1388.] JOHN FORDHAM, Prebendary of York and Lincoln, Secretary to the King, and Lord Treasurer. He was one of the evil counsellors of Richard II. In 1388 the King reluctantly consented to his deprivation, and Fordham was permitted to retire to the see of Ely,—a fact which curiously marks the relative position of the sees. He survived until 1425.

[A.D. 1388—1405.] WALTER SKIRLAWE was translated from Bath and Wells. He is said (and Leland quotes the tradition) to have been the son of a sieve-maker; but it seems highly probable that the tradition arose from the bearing

on the bishop's shield of arms,—six ozier-wands interlaced. Skirlawe was educated at Durham House in Oxford, became Bishop of Lichfield in 1385; was translated to Bath and Wells in 1386, and finally removed to Durham.

He is best remembered by his many works of piety and munificence. He built bridges over the Tees and Wear; built the great tower of Howden Church, the beautiful chapter-house there, and the manor-house. He contributed towards building the central tower of York Minster; and built and endowed a beautiful chapel still remaining, at his birth-place, South Skirlaugh, in the parish of Swine, in Holderness. At Durham he built much of the cloisters (Pt. I. § xxvii.) In University College, Oxford, he founded three scholarships. Bishop Skirlawe was buried in the north choir-aisle of his cathedral (Pt. I. § xxv.) The stone which formerly covered his grave is perhaps that now placed before the altar in the choir (Pt. I. § xvi.)

[A.D. 1406—1437.] Thomas Langley, Dean of York, and member of an ancient Yorkshire family, succeeded. Langley, who had been educated at Cambridge, was an eager follower of the house of Lancaster, and rose rapidly in consequence. In 1401 he became Dean of York; in 1405 Lord High Chancellor; and in the same year was elected to the see of York, vacant by the death of Archbishop Scrope; but Langley was never installed at York, and in 1406 he became Bishop of Durham, when he ceased to be chancellor. In 1411 he received a cardinal's hat from Pope John XXIII. Under Henry V. he was, in 1414, ambassador in France; and in 1417 was again chancellor, retaining the seals until the death of Henry V. He resumed them in 1423, and finally resigned office in 1425. In 1424, James, King of Scotland, who had long been detained in England, was set at liberty, and married Jane Beaufort. The young King and Queen were entertained for a month at Durham by Cardinal Langley; and were

escorted by all the gentry of Northumberland and the bishopric to Melrose Abbey.

Langley's work in the Galilee at Durham is noticed, Pt. I. § XVIII. His tomb remains there. (Pt. I. § id.)

[A.D. 1437—1457.] ROBERT NEVILLE, fourth son of Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, by Joan of Lancaster, sister of Henry IV., was translated from Salisbury. During Neville's episcopate Henry VI. visited the shrine of St. Cuthbert, and remained for several days in the Castle of Durham. The King wrote afterwards to Master John Somerset, to the effect that he had been "right merry in his pilgrymage," seeing that the church of Durham was so noble, the people so catholick and so loyal.[r] Bishop Neville was buried among his own kin, in the south aisle of the cathedral nave.

[A.D. 1457—1476.] LAURENCE BOOTH was appointed by Papal bull, through the interest of Queen Margaret. He was a zealous Lancastrian. In 1462, more than twelve months after the battle of Towton, Edward IV. seized the temporalities of Durham, which were not restored until 1464; and thenceforth Bishop Booth, whatever his real sympathies may have been, does not seem to have opposed himself to the ruling powers. He became chancellor in 1473, and was translated to York in 1476. He died and was buried at Southwell in Nottinghamshire.

[A.D. 1476—1483.] WILLIAM DUDLEY had been the first Dean of Edward IV.'s new chapel of Windsor. He was the uncle of Henry VII.'s notorious minister, and founder of the great house of Dudley. His monument remains in the chapel of St. Nicholas in Westminster Abbey, where he was buried.

[A.D. 1483—1494.] JOHN SHERWOOD, Archdeacon of Richmond. After the fall of Richard at Bosworth, Bishop Sherwood, who had been in his confidence, was watched

[r] See the whole letter in Raine's 'St. Cuthbert,' p. 159.

with suspicion by Henry VII., but concerned himself in no public measures. He died at Rome, January 12th, 1494; and was buried in the church of the English College. The title on his tomb "serenissimi regis Angliæ orator," refers probably to his employment under Edward IV., when he had been English advocate at Rome.

[A.D. 1494—1501.] Richard Fox, translated from Bath and Wells. He was born at Ropesley in Lincolnshire; and was early patronised by Morton, Bishop of Ely, who was one of the most ardent supporters of Henry VII. Fox accordingly followed on that side; and immediately after Bosworth became a Privy Councillor. In 1487 he was made Bishop of Exeter and Keeper of the Privy Seal; in 1491 he was translated to Bath and Wells, and thence in 1494 to Durham.

Whilst Bishop of Durham the whole management of the north, and of the Scottish border, was committed to the charge of Fox. He defended Norham successfully against a siege conducted by King James in person; and it was owing to Fox's influence that peace was concluded in 1502, and that the Princess Margaret of England became the bride of James. Before this had been effected the bishop had been translated to Winchester. There he died in 1528, and was buried in the magnificent chantry which still remains. (See Winchester Cathedral, Pt. II.)

[A.D. 1502—1505.] William Senhouse, Warden of Merton College, Oxford, and Provost of Eton, became Abbot of St. Mary's, York, in 1485, and Bishop of Carlisle in 1496. Thence he was translated to Durham. He was buried in St. Mary's Abbey, York.

The king retained the temporalities for two years, until

[A.D. 1507—1508.] Christopher Bainbrigge, Dean of York, succeeded. He was translated to York in the following year. (See York, Pt. II.)

[A.D. 1509—1522.] Thomas Ruthall, Dean of Salisbury.

During his episcopate the battle of Flodden was fought (September 9th, 1513).

Bishop Ruthall, by order of Henry VIII., compiled an account of the lands and revenues of the crown throughout England, and at the same time he drew up a statement of his own wealth. The two books were bound alike; and it is said that Ruthall's private volume was placed by him in the hands of Wolsey by mistake for the other. Wolsey showed it to the king, who made no ungenerous use of it; but Bishop Ruthall, on discovering his error, is said to have died of chagrin. A similar story is told of Wolsey himself, and of others; and its truth seems at least doubtful. Ruthall was buried in St. John's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey.

[A.D. 1522—1528.] CARDINAL WOLSEY held the see of Durham, together with that of York, for six years, but never visited his northern diocese. In 1528, on the death of Fox, Wolsey resigned Durham, and was translated to Winchester.

After a short vacancy,

[A.D. 1530—1559.] CUTHBERT TUNSTALL succeeded. He was, as appears most probable, the son of Thomas Tunstall, of Hackforth, near the village of Tunstall, in Richmondshire; and brother of Sir Brian Tunstall, who fell at Flodden. He was educated at Oxford, but removed thence to Cambridge on the breaking out of the plague, and finally proceeded to Padua. In 1508, when only sub-deacon, he became rector of Stanhope; in 1515, Archdeacon of Chester; and in 1516 rector of Harrow-on-the-Hill, and Master of the Rolls. In the same year he went on an embassy to Charles V. at Brussels, where he lodged under the same roof with Erasmus, and was ever afterwards his firm friend. In 1519 Tunstall was made Dean of Salisbury; and in 1522 Bishop of London, and Keeper of the Great Seal. In 1529-30 he was translated to Durham.

Between 1516 and 1530 he had been employed on many embassies to France and Germany; and in 1527 had accompanied Wolsey on his magnificent embassy to France.

Bishop Tunstall, like Erasmus, was a decided Reformer, without any disposition to separate himself from the Church. He "wanted the firmness and constancy of a martyr, yet possessed qualities scarcely less rare or valuable. With mild and scholar-like scepticism, he refused to persecute others for opinions on which he had himself felt doubt and indecision; and during the heat of the Marian persecution not a single victim bled within the limits of the church of Durham."[8]

It was after the suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536 that Henry VIII., recognising the strong feeling in the North for the "old religion," and fearing the great powers of the Counts Palatine, swept away the most important of them by Act of Parliament. These were never restored. The bishop was deprived of his privilege of pardoning treason, murder, and other crimes; all writs were henceforth to run in the name of the King, and the ancient form of indictment, "contre pacem Episcopi" was altered to the usual "against the King's Peace"; the King's justices were to have authority within the franchise; and certain fines and forfeitures were henceforth to go to the Crown, and not to the Bishop. In 1540 the great monastery at Durham was surrendered to the Crown. Tunstall had accepted the Royal supremacy, and maintained considerable influence during the remainder of the reign of Henry. He was not ready to accept the sweeping measures which followed the accession of Edward VI.; and although he remained uninjured for some time, the Duke of Northumberland looked with too much greed on the lands of the bishopric for Tunstall's permanent safety. He was deprived in 1552; and it was proposed to suppress the ancient see, and erect two new bishoprics, with very

[8] Surtees.

moderate revenues, one at Newcastle, the other at Durham. Meanwhile Northumberland had seized Durham House, in the Strand, and had obtained the "stewardship" of the remaining revenues of the see. The death of Edward disconcerted all these plans; and Tunstall was restored to his former position.

On the accession of Elizabeth, Tunstall, from whatever reason, declined the oath of supremacy, although he had defended it in the lifetime of Henry VIII. He was deprived, accordingly, September 29th, 1559, the last of the ejected bishops. Little more than six weeks afterwards he died at Lambeth, under the roof of Archbishop Parker, where he had been placed in easy restraint. He was buried in the chancel of Lambeth church.

[A.D. 1560—1575.] James Pilkington, the first Protestant Bishop of Durham, was a member of an ancient Lancashire family, of decided Puritan tendencies. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, took himself to Geneva during the Marian persecution, and returned on the accession of Elizabeth, when he was made Master of St. John's, and soon afterwards Bishop of Durham. There is little doubt that Bishop Pilkington looked with no eye of displeasure on the destructive and iconoclastic proceedings of Dean Waddington; yet on the whole he seems to have deserved the eulogium of Fuller, who speaks of him as the "good old bishop of Durham, a grave and truly reverend man, of great learning, piety, and such frugal simplicity of life as well became a modest Christian prelate."[t]

During Pilkington's episcopacy the famous "rising in the North" occurred, when the great Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, assisted by many of the "best gentry" of the North, rose in arms in the vain attempt to restore the "old religion." The bishop fled into the south of England on the first alarm, and the insurgents celebrated mass in his cathedral. The rebellion was speedily quelled,

[t] Worthies, Lancashire.

and great part of the lands of the bishopric were confiscated. The see still retained the full right to forfeitures for high treason and felony within the Palatinate; and the lands now confiscated would have fallen to it, had not Elizabeth caused a special act to be passed, providing that for this occasion the lands should become the property of the Crown.

Bishop Pilkington left two daughters, "for whom he is said to have saved such large fortunes as to have provoked the jealousy of Queen Elizabeth, who "scorned that a bishop's daughter should equal a princess;" and, if Fuller may be credited, deprived the bishopric in consequence of 1000*l.* a year, which she settled on the garrison of Berwick."[u]

After a vacancy of seven months,

[A.D. 1575—1587.] Richard Barnes was translated from Carlisle under the patronage of Lord Burleigh. This bishop is chiefly noticeable for his long disputes with Archbishop Grindall, which need not be dwelt upon here. He was a decided Puritan, and found some difficulty in settling to his mind "that *Augie Stabulum*, the church of Durham; whose stinke is grievous in the nose of God and men, and which to purge far passeth Hercules' labours." To this bishop, no less than to his predecessor, is due much of the destruction of ancient monuments within the Cathedral.

The see remained vacant for nearly two years, the diocese being in a neglected and impoverished condition. At length,

[A.D. 1589, translated to York 1594.] Matthew Hutton was consecrated to it. (See 'York,' Pt. II.) His successor,

[A.D. 1595, translated 1606.] Toby Mathew, also passed from Durham to York. (See 'York,' Pt. II.) As Bishop of Durham he maintained firmly the privileges of his see;

[u] Surtees.

though in 1603 he demised Norham Castle, Northamshire, and Islandshire to the King. Norham was never regained by the see; but, as some compensation, Durham House, in the Strand, was at this time restored to it.

[A.D. 1606—1617.] WILLIAM JAMES, educated at Christ Church, in Oxford, became Master of University College in 1572, Dean of Christ Church in 1584, and in 1596 Dean of Durham. He had been chaplain to the Earl of Leicester, and was of course a Puritan. Little is recorded of him.

[A.D. 1617, translated from Lincoln; 1627, translated to Winchester.] RICHARD NEILE, whose life belongs completely to the history of his time, was translated from Winchester to York, 1631. (See that Cathedral, Pt. II.)

[A.D. $16\frac{31}{62}$ (March 3), translated to York, June 16, 1628.] GEORGE MONTEIGNE, held the see for three months. (See 'York,' Pt. II.)

[A.D. 1628—1631.] JOHN HOWSON, Canon of Christ Church, Canon of Hereford. He died in London, February 6, 1661-2, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral.

[A.D. 1632 (June)—1659.] THOMAS MORTON, translated from Lichfield. He was the sixth of nineteen children of Richard Morton, mercer and alderman of York, where the future bishop was born in 1564. He was educated at York and at Halifax (where Sir Thomas Cheek and Guy Faux were his schoolfellows). In 1598 he became Rector of Long Marston, in Yorkshire; and, after serving as chaplain to the Lord Eure and to the Earl of Rutland, he was made in 1606 one of the King's chaplains, and in 1607 Dean of Gloucester. In 1609 he was removed to the Deanery of Winchester, and in 1616 was consecrated Bishop of Chester, whence he was translated to Lichfield in 1618. In 1632 he was again translated to Durham.

As Bishop of Chester and of Lichfield, Morton was distinguished for his zeal in the conversion as well of Popish recusants as of Nonconformists. He had to repress, and that with great caution, the disorders which had arisen,

especially in Lancashire, from James I.'s indiscreet allowance of "Sunday sports and pastimes;" and whilst at Lichfield successfully exposed the imposture of the "Boy of Bilston,"—a pretended demoniac, who was to some extent supported by the King, and whose history will be found in Webster's 'Displaying of supposed Witchcraft,' and in Wilson's 'Life of James I.' After his removal to Durham, "it is scarcely possible to speak in adequate terms of Bishop Morton's prudence, generosity, and moderation, in exercising the rights and employing the revenues of his opulent see." * He exercised a noble hospitality, and a perpetual charity to poor scholars, travellers, and strangers. He himself examined all candidates for holy orders; admitting into the ministry only those of whose learning and piety he was personally convinced. "For his manner of lodging, diet, and study garments," says his secretary Baddeley, "they might have been of another Anthony, for he never could endure a soft, much less a downe bed, but either a matress or a single quilt, which was his usual lodging. His study gowne was sometimes of a coarse black hairy rugge, and his constant diet (when not visited by strangers) was one meale a day through almost the whole course of his life; which, in his middle age, and before he was bishop, was usually a supper; in his declining age, after he was a bishop, usually a dinner, and that but a bare and slender one to himself, though bountifull and plentifull to all others his commensals. He very seldome or never drunk strong drinke, and wine most rarely, and that in a very small quantity, as perhaps might warme his mouth but scarcely his stomach."

Bishop Morton twice entertained Charles I. in his Castle at Durham, in 1633 and again in 1639. The Scots crossed the Tweed on the 20th of August, 1640, and marched without opposition to Newburn on the Tyne, where they

* Surtees.

were met by the royal troops under Lord Conway. But the royalists were defeated, and Lesley's troops crossed the river on the 28th. They advanced to Newcastle on the following day, and on the same 29th of August, 1640, Bishop Morton fled from Durham to his castle of Stockton, and thence soon after to York and London. He never returned to his diocese. In 1641 he protested with the other prelates against the taking away the bishops' votes in Parliament; was impeached of high treason, and taken into custody. After some time he was permitted to retire to Durham House in the Strand, where he continued to reside in privacy until 1645, when, under some uncertain accusation, he was again committed to custody, and again released. In 1646, episcopacy was abolished by the Parliament, and Morton lost the small revenue which still remained to him. His character was so respected that an annuity of 800*l.* was voted to him, but it proved that the lands of the see had been so far alienated that no such sum was forthcoming from them; and accordingly a sum of 1000*l.* was ordered to be paid to the bishop out of Goldsmiths' Hall (where the compositions for the royalists' estates were settled and received). With this he paid his debts and bought an annuity of 200*l.*, charged on Sir George Saville's estate. In $16\frac{48}{49}$ Morton was expelled from Durham House, and after finding a refuge in more than one family, finally removed to the house of Sir Henry Yelverton, at Easton Mauduit, in Northamptonshire. There he died in 1659,—the 95th year of his age, the 44th of his episcopate. He was buried in Easton Mauduit church, where a small monument (still remaining) was erected to his memory.

After the solemn vote for the abolition of episcopacy, the Bishopric of Durham was in effect "governed by Sir William Armine and the rest of the Parliamentary Commissioners, and by the noted family of Lilburn, and Sir

Arthur Haslerigg, whose extensive purchases of lands belonging to the see, sold by order of Parliament, acquired him the name of the Bishop of Durham."

On the restoration,

[A.D. 1660—1671.] JOHN COSIN was nominated to the see.

He was the eldest son of Giles Cosin, of Norwich, where he was born in 1595. He was educated at the Free School of Norwich and at Cambridge; became chaplain to Overall, Bishop of Lichfield, and afterwards to Neile, Bishop of Durham; and in 1624 was made a Prebendary of Durham and Archdeacon of Cleveland. In 1626 he became Rector of Brancepath, and married Frances Blakiston, thus becoming connected with one of the most ancient families in the bishopric of Durham.

Cosin had from the first attached himself to the school of Laud; and in 1627 he published his famous 'Collection of Private Devotions,' which drew upon him all the hatred and misrepresentation of the Puritans. In 1628 he joined with the other members of the Durham Chapter in prosecuting Peter Smart, one of the Prebendaries, who had preached an outrageous sermon in the Cathedral from the text "I hate them that hold of superstitious vanities."[x] In 1634 he became Master of Peter House at Cambridge, and in 1640 Dean of Peterborough. In the same year, Smart presented a petition to the Commons complaining of Cosin's "superstitious and Popish innovations" at Durham, and of his own severe prosecution. Cosin was ordered into custody; was admitted to bail; but, January 22, $16\frac{40}{41}$, "he underwent by vote of the whole house, the severe sentence of sequestration from all his ecclesiastical benefices, being the very first victim of Puritanical vengeance who suffered by vote of the Commons." On the 13th of March twenty-one articles of impeachment against Cosin were exhibited

[x] Smart was degraded, deprived of all his preferments, and fined 500*l*.

by the Commons at the bar of the House of Lords. He was accused of "removing the communion-table and setting it altar ways; using a consecrated knife to cut the bread at the sacrament; singing an anthem instead of a psalm after sermon; setting up three hundred wax tapers in the Cathedral on Candlemas-night; wearing a white satin cope, which he left off when he married, and buying a cope with the picture of the Trinity from a convicted Jesuit;" besides sundry other matters, some of which were untrue, and all falsely coloured or frivolous. After a hearing of five days, Cosin was dismissed on bail, and was never again summoned to attend. In 1643 he withdrew to Paris, where he officiated as chaplain to such of Henrietta Maria's household as were Protestants, receiving on account of his connection with the Queen of England a small pension from France and lodgings in the Louvre. During seventeen years of exile Cosin maintained a faithful adherence to the ceremonies and discipline of the Church of England, and, according to Basire, "did then confirm some eminent persons against many imminent and importunate seducers."

On the Restoration, Cosin recovered his deanery of Peterborough, and was nominated to the deanery of Durham; but before his institution he was consecrated to the vacant see of the same diocese. He found nearly all the episcopal residences ruined and deserted. Stockton, to which Bishop Morton had fled, was never restored. Auckland had been purchased by Sir Arthur Haslerigg, who had pulled down the old castle and the chapel built by Anthony Bek, and had begun a new mansion within the curtain wall. This new building Cosin, from some peculiar feeling which has been called "superstitious," removed, and reared from the ground the existing palace. He restored also the Castle of Durham, and expended much on the interior of the Cathedral, where the ancient stalls and woodwork had greatly suffered. (See Pt. I., § xv.) Immediately after his consecration he visited the whole of his diocese, pressing the

restoration of the ruined and neglected churches. In 1662 he took part in the Savoy Conference, winning from his opponents the praise of deep and solid learning, and a frank and generous disposition.[y] His hospitality was unbounded, and his benefactions to various persons and charities worthy of his great position. In person he was tall, "of a commanding presence, and a countenance in which frankness and dignity were mingled; yet somewhat verging, if we may trust his portraits, toward severity."[z] A curious vein of harshness and asperity certainly runs through some of his private correspondence, and may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that throughout his later years he suffered from a most painful and wearing disorder. He died in London, January 15, 1671, but his body was brought to Aukland and interred in the chapel which he had built there.

The county of Durham, as included in the palatinate, had sent no members to Parliament until the period of the so-called "Commonwealth." In 1666, several of the gentry and freeholders petitioned Parliament for the obtaining of representation. Bishop Cosin violently opposed this petition, considering it derogatory to his own rights and the peculiar privileges of the palatinate. He succeeded in preventing the measure for his own time; but in 1675 a Bill was passed, and members for the county and city of Durham took their places in Parliament.

[A.D. 1674—1722.] NATHANIEL CREWE, after the see had been vacant for nearly three years, was translated from Oxford. He was the fifth son of John, first Lord Crewe, of Stene, in Northamptonshire, where the future bishop was born in 1633. He was educated at Lincoln College, Oxford, where he became Fellow, and afterwards rector. In 1668 he was

[y] See Baxter's Life by Silvester, ii. 363. (The reference is from Surtees.)

[z] Surtees.

made clerk of the King's closet; in 1669 Dean of Chichester; and in 1671 was consecrated to the see of Oxford, holding with it the rectory of Whitney in commendam. In 1673 Bishop Crewe married the Duke of York and Mary of Este, in spite of the repeated protests of Parliament; and it was the interest of the Duke which procured Crewe's translation to Durham in 1674. There had been much Court intrigue about the succession to the see; and the Duke of York told Crewe, in giving it to him, that he had many enemies. "My Lord replied he valued them not, so long as his Royal Highness was his friend." In 1677 Crewe was a candidate for the archbishopric of Canterbury, which was, however, then bestowed on Sancroft. In 1679 he entertained the Duke and Duchess of York at Durham, on their way into Scotland.

On the accession of James, Bishop Crewe proved himself ready to go almost all lengths in compliance with the King's desires. He was made Dean of the Chapel Royal, sat and acted in the High Commission Court, participated in the proceedings against Magdalen College, and in 1688 suspended thirty ministers in his diocese who refused to read the King's declaration from their pulpits. The Bishop was excepted by name from the general pardon granted by William and Mary, and in February, 1689, fled to Holland; but he returned to England in July, one day before the expiration of the time fixed for taking the oaths to the new government. On whatever terms were possible he made his peace, and then without scruple took the oaths at Guildhall. Throughout the reign of William, however, he remained in obscurity, being scarcely admitted at Court. In 1691 he married a daughter of Sir William Frowde; and on her death, in 1699, "Mrs. Dorothy Forster, of Northumberland." In 1697, on the death of his last surviving brother, he succeeded to the barony and to the family estate at Stene, and was summoned to Parliament both as

baron and bishop, "being the first instance in England of such an union of a temporal and spiritual peerage."[a] On the accession of Queen Anne, the bishop was restored to some degree of favour at Court; but he did not recover the lord lieutenancy of Durham, of which he had been deprived on the accession of William, until 1712, when the Tory ministry restored it. Lord Crewe had gained some credit with that party by voting for Sacheverell in 1710. The rest of his life was spent in comparative retirement, and he died, aged 88, at Stene, September 18, 1721. He was buried in the chapel adjoining the mansion, now united to the rectory of Hinton.

Lord Crewe's political tergiversations, and his unworthy compliance with all the measures that deprived James of his crown, are entirely without defence. But it has fairly been said that "many men have been canonised for works of beneficence much inferior to those of this prelate."[b] In 1715 Lord Crewe's brother-in-law, John Forster, M.P. for Northumberland, joined the Jacobite rising, and was made General of the English insurgents. His estates, of which Bamborough was the principal, were forfeited, and were purchased by the Bishop of Durham. They were then valued at 1314*l.* per annum; but are now, of course, of infinitely greater worth (the annual rental is said to be about 9000*l.*). Lord Crewe settled their present and future income on charitable purposes; the principal being provisions for exhibitioners and others at Lincoln College, the augmentation of some small livings, and the improvement of certain schools. "The residue of the rents" were to be applied to such charitable uses as his trustees should determine; and the establishment at Bamborough has been the result. Bamborough Castle was restored at the expense of one of Lord Crewe's trustees,—Dr. Sharpe, Archdeacon of Northumberland (died 1792); and the residue of the Crewe

[a] Surtees. [b] Hutchinson's 'Northumberland.'

property is devoted to charities in connection with the castle and its neighbourhood. A surgery and dispensary are maintained at the castle, where more than 1000 patients receive assistance annually. Schools are provided. Thirty poor girls, selected by the trustees, are brought up and educated within the castle walls, and are afterwards placed out in service. Provision is made for shipwrecked sailors, and a life-boat is kept, all at the cost of the charity.

The portraits of Lord Crewe, in Durham Castle, at Bamborough, and elsewhere, sufficiently attest the handsome features and stately presence which are said to have first recommended him to Charles II.

[A.D. 1721—1730.] William Talbot was the only son of William Talbot, of Stourton Castle, in Staffordshire. In 1691 he was made Dean of Worcester; in 1699, Bishop of Oxford; in 1715 he was translated to Salisbury; and thence, in 1721, to Durham. He was the father of Lord Chancellor Talbot.

[A.D. 1730—1750.] Edward Chandler, Bishop of Lichfield in 1717, was translated thence to Durham.

[A.D. 1750—1752.] Joseph Butler, translated from Bristol. (See that Cathedral, Pt. II.) The famous 'Analogy' was published in 1736. Butler, through the influence of Edward Talbot, son of the Bishop of Salisbury (afterwards of Durham), became in 1722 rector of Haughton-le-Skerne, and in 1725 of Stanhope. About 1732 Lord Chancellor Talbot made him a prebendary of Rochester. In 1738 he was consecrated to the see of Bristol, holding with it the deanery of St. Paul's, which was bestowed on him in 1740. In 1750 he was translated to Durham. He died at Bath in 1752, and was buried in Bristol Cathedral.

During the short time which Butler held the see of Durham he won the love and admiration of his diocese. Hospitable, gentle, and a kind friend and patron of his clergy, his own way of living was simple and unpretending.

"It would," he wrote, "be a melancholy thing in the close of life to have no reflections to entertain oneself with but that one had spent the revenues of the bishopric of Durham in a sumptuous course of living, and enriched one's friends with the promotions of it, instead of having really set oneself to do good, and promote worthy men."

[A.D. 1752—1771.] RICHARD TREVOR, son of Thomas, first Lord Trevor of Bromham; translated from St. David's.

[A.D. 1771—1787.] JOHN EGERTON, eldest son of Henry Egerton, Bishop of Hereford (son of John, third Earl of Bridgewater). He was consecrated Bishop of Bangor in 1756, translated to Lichfield in 1768, and thence to Durham in 1771.

[A.D. 1787—1791.] THOMAS THURLOW in 1779 became Bishop of Lincoln, and was thence translated to Durham.

[A.D. 1791—1826.] SHUTE BARRINGTON, youngest son of John, first Viscount Barrington. In 1769 he became Bishop of Llandaff, and was translated to Salisbury in 1782; thence to Durham. The great liberality of Bishop Barrington and the excellence of his life are commemorated on his monument in Durham Cathedral (Pt. I., § XIII.) His episcopate of fifty-six years is the longest on record in the English Church, with the exception of that of Bishop Wilson of Sodor and Man, which was fifty-seven.[c]

[A.D. 1826—1836.] WILLIAM VAN MILDERT was translated from Llandaff. He was the founder of Durham University. Bishop Van Mildert was the last Count Palatine. The Ecclesiastical Commission had recommended the abolition of the ancient union of temporal and spiritual authority, and the privileges of the County Palatine are now vested in the Crown.

[c] Bishop Barrington was consecrated Oct. 1, 1769, and died March 25, 1826. Bishop Wilson was consecrated Jan. 16, 1698, and died March 7, 1755.

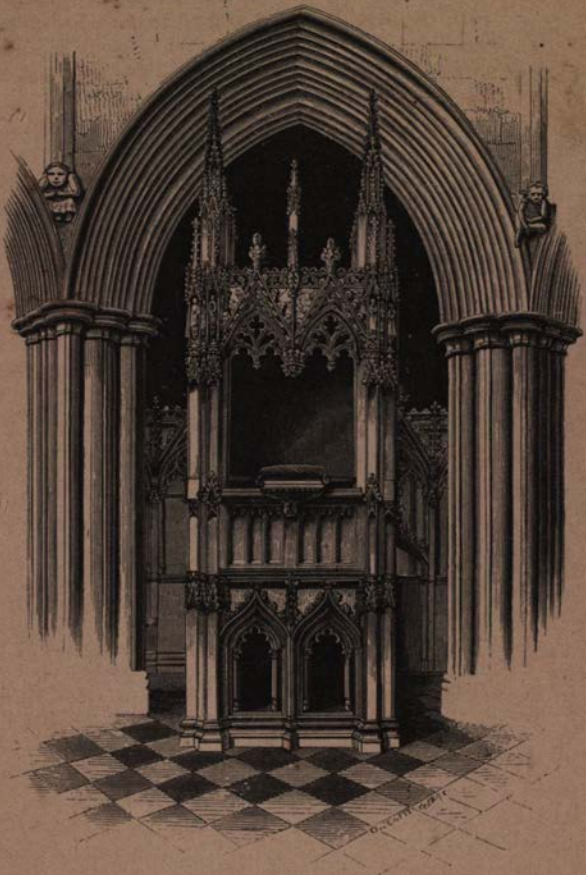
[A.D. 1836; resigned 1856.] EDWARD MALTBY was translated from Chichester.

[A.D. 1856, translated to York 1860; thence to Canterbury 1862.] CHARLES THOMAS LONGLEY, translated to Durham from Ripon.

[A.D. 1860—1861.] HENRY MONTAGUE VILLIERS, translated from Carlisle.

[A.D. 1861.] CHARLES BARING.

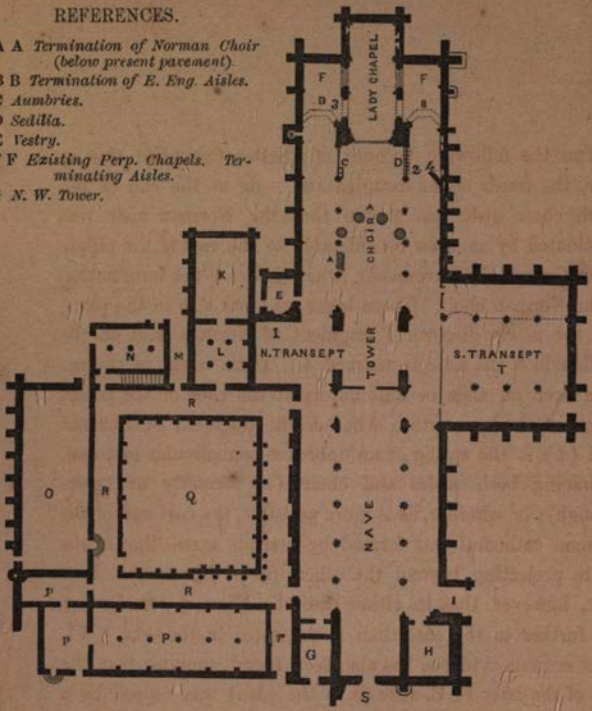
CHESTER CATHEDRAL.



EPISCOPAL THRONE.

REFERENCES.

A A *Termination of Norman Choir (below present pavement).*
B B *Termination of E. Eng. Aisles.*
C *Aumbries.*
D *Sedilia.*
E *Vestry.*
F F *Existing Perp. Chapels. Terminating Aisles.*
G *N. W. Tower.*



H *S. W. Tower.*
I *S. Porch.*
K *Chapter House.*
L *Vestibule to Chapter House.*
M *Maiden's Aisle—Passage to Infirmary.*
N *Cellar, beyond stairs to Dormitory.*
O *Refectory: now King's School.*
P *Frater House. p p, Cellars.*

Q *Cloister Garth.*
R R R R *Cloisters. r, Passage.*
S *W. Entrance.*
T *S. Transept,—Church of St. Oswald.*
1 *Cenotaph of Bp. Pearson.*
2 *Tomb called that of the Emperor Henry IV.*
3 *Monument of Bp. Graham.*
4 *Remains of outer wall of Apse.*

PLAN OF CHESTER CATHEDRAL AND CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS.

Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

After the following account of Chester Cathedral was in type, the result of an examination made at the end of the south choir aisle has shown that the Norman aisle was terminated by an apse considerably to the east of the pillar-bases (below the pavement), which indicate the termination of the Norman choir. These bases are marked A in the plan; and the newly discovered fragment of Norman wall on the south side of the aisle is marked 4. There must, of course, have been an aisle or ambulatory at the back of the pillars (A); but it is uncertain whether the fragment of Norman wall (4) is the spring of an unbroken semicircular east-end, embracing both aisles and choir (as formerly at Peterborough); or whether, as is more probable, the east end of the Norman cathedral was formed by a triple apse—that in the centre projecting beyond the others (as at Norwich). It is clear, however, that in either case the Norman termination was further to the east than is suggested in the text, § VI. Some curious evidence has also been found, proving that the apse of the later E. E. aisle (B in the plan) was capped by a stone roof no less than 41 feet high—a design most unusual, if not unique, in England, but occurring not unfrequently in France and on the Rhine.

To face Plan of Chester Cathedral.

CHESTER CATHEDRAL CHOIR

CHESTER CATHEDRAL.

PART I.

History and Details.

I. Until the foundation of the see of Chester in 1541, the present cathedral had been the church of the Benedictine monastery of St. Werburgh. Up to that time Chester was in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry. In 1075 Peter, the first Norman bishop of Lichfield, removed the place of his see from Lichfield to Chester, apparently in obedience to a decree of the Council of London, held in that year, which ordered the removal of episcopal sees from small towns to places of more importance. But Bishop Peter's successor, Robert of Limesey, again transferred the see from Chester to Coventry. The monastic church of St. John the Baptist, and not that of St. Werburgh, served as the cathedral of these Norman bishops of Chester, and Bishop Peter commenced the rebuilding of it on a grand scale. His successor abandoned the work (which the monks afterwards completed) on the removal of the see to Coventry. Thus, although there had been

bishops of Chester before the city was made the place of Henry VIII.'s newly-created see, the church of St. Werburgh then, for the first time, became the cathedral.

II. The relics of St. Werburgh (for her life see Pt. II.) were brought to Chester about the year 875, and were then placed in an ancient church dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. This church, which had been the principal or "mother church" of Chester, was, for the greater honour of St. Werburgh, rebuilt on an enlarged scale, early in the tenth century, by Æthelred, ealdorman of Mercia, and his wife Æthelflæd.[a] The shrine remained there, and the church was served by secular canons. In 1095 a new foundation was made by Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, at the express desire of St. Anselm. The canons were replaced by Benedictine monks. The church was rebuilt, and the house was thenceforth known as the Abbey of St. Werburgh.[b]

[a] On this occasion the site of the church was changed. So at least Henry Bradshaw, a monk of Chester, asserts in his metrical 'Life of St. Werburgh.' Bradshaw died in 1513. The Metrical Life has been reprinted for the Chetham Society.

> "And the olde churche of Peter and of Paule
> By a generall counsell of the spiritualte
> With helpe of the duke moost principall
> Was translate to the myddes of the sayd cite
> Where a paresshe churche was edified truele
> In honour of the aforesayd apostoles twayne
> Which shall for euer by grace diuine remayne."
>
> —P. 157.

[b] Anno MXCV. Anselmus, rogatu Hugonis comitis, fundavit monasterium Cestriæ in honorem Sanctæ Werburgæ. Monachos

There is but little ancient authority for the architectural history of the abbey. Documents contained in the 'Red Book' of the abbey show that some time before the end of the twelfth century the Norman church had become ruinous; that in spite of Welsh forays and inundations of the sea, from both which causes the monks lost considerable property, the rebuilding had been commenced before the year 1194; and that in 1211 the choir and the central tower were finished.[c] The building of the Lady-chapel, the Chapter-house, and the Refectory, is nowhere recorded; but all these are Early English, of somewhat more advanced character than the Early English portion of the choir, so that the works must have proceeded with little intermission during the first three decades of the thirteenth century. The choir itself, however, notwithstanding the statement in the 'Red Book,' is not entirely Early English. The two westernmost bays are later than the rest, and must perhaps be called Decorated.

Simon Ripley, abbot of the monastery from 1485 to 1492, is said to have rebuilt the nave, tower, and south transept. This can only mean that he greatly altered the nave, the main arcades of which are Deco-

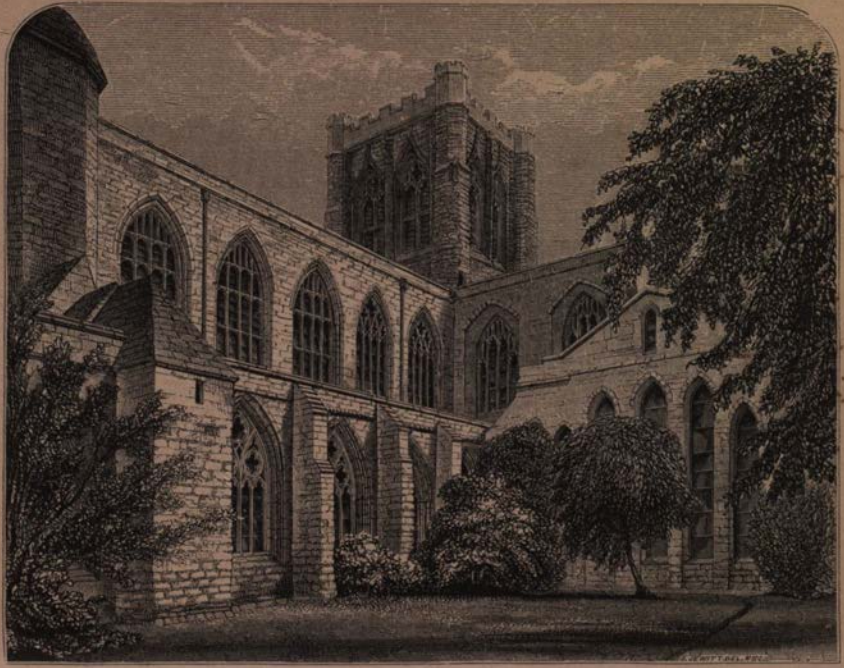
de canonicis ibidem inventis tonsoravit, Ricardum capellanum suum Abbatem fecit, in redeundo Archiep. Cantuar. consecratus est. *Joan. Tinemuth. Hist. Aurea*, MS. in Bibl. Bodl., quoted in Parker's 'Mediæval Architecture of Chester,' p. 14.

[c] Extracts from the Red Book of the Abbey, preserved in the Brit. Mus. among Randle Holme's 'Collections for Cheshire,' are given in the Appendix to Parker's 'Med. Archit. of Chester.'

rated of the fourteenth century. The arches and upper part of the central tower are Perpendicular, as are the clerestory and roof of the nave. All this portion, therefore, may well be the work of Abbot Ripley and of his successor John Birchenshaw (1493—1537). The south transept (St. Oswald's church) has, like the nave, Decorated piers and arches, with Perpendicular clerestory and roof. Nearly the whole of the exterior of the church was cased during the Perpendicular period; Perpendicular chapels were added at the ends of the choir-aisles, and Perpendicular tracery was inserted in many windows of earlier date.

It will thus be seen that the whole eastern portion of the church is Early English; the rest is Decorated, with Perpendicular alterations and additions. The Early English work is very beautiful, and is by far the most noteworthy portion of the cathedral. The rest, although interesting, has no very special character or importance.

The restoration of the choir was begun in 1844, under the auspices of Dean Anson. The architect was Mr. R. C. Hussey. After the completion of that work, nothing was done until, in 1855, the fabric of the Lady-chapel was partially restored by the Chapter. Its interior was then decorated at the cost of Mrs. Hamilton, of Hoole Lodge. (See § x.) Before the year 1868, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had assigned a sum of 10,000*l.* for the work of general restoration. A further sum of 1500*l.*, contributed by the Chapter, was, at the instance of the present Dean, used in fitting the nave



CHESTER CATHEDRAL. NORTH-EAST VIEW, SHOWING CHAPTER HOUSE.

for congregational purposes.[d] In March, 1868, a movement (also due to Dean Howson) was made on behalf of the general restoration. Considerable sums were subscribed;[e] and the work (under the direction of Mr. G. G. Scott) was begun during the summer with a restoration of buttresses, and under-pinning at the east end. (See § x.)

Henry VIII.'s charter of endowment, by which the monastic church became the cathedral of the new diocese, is dated August 5, 1541. The church was rededicated to Christ and the Blessed Virgin. A dean and six prebendaries formed the chapter.

III. Chester Cathedral is so completely surrounded by buildings, that it is impossible to obtain anything like a good general view of it. That from the north-east (Plate I.) is one of the best. The east end is well seen from the city wall, which closely adjoins it. In spite of the recasing in the sixteenth century, the sandstone of which the church is built has become so decayed that the exterior mouldings and details are in some parts quite obliterated; and the tower especially is as much lined and weather-beaten as a sea-rock. In approaching the cathedral on the south side, the transept or church of St. Oswald is a remarkable feature. Projecting to nearly the same length as the nave, with its lofty clerestory and great south window, it attracts

[d] Services in the nave were begun on Advent Sunday, 1867, and have since been continued regularly.

[e] The works in contemplation require a sum of more than 50,000*l.* Of this, 28,000*l.* (including 10,000*l.* assigned by the Commissioners) have been contributed.

attention as well by its own importance as by the unusual ground-plan which it gives to the entire building. (See § xv.)

IV. The *south porch*, by which the church is usually entered, is Perpendicular, and no doubt formed part of the reconstruction designed by Abbots Ripley and Birchenshaw. It has a parvise chamber above it, lighted by double windows, between which is a canopied niche for a figure, probably of St. Werburgh. On the west side the porch abuts on the south-west tower. Leaving this and the rest of the exterior for the present, we enter the *nave*, with an arcade of six bays, the seventh or westernmost bay being closed on either side by the wall of the flanking towers. The entire nave is 145 feet long, with a width of 32 feet 6 inches, or, including the aisles, of 75 feet.

In its present state the nave of Chester is unquestionably the coldest and least attractive among the naves of English cathedrals. This, however, is greatly owing to the unfinished state of the alterations begun by Abbot Ripley. Had the lofty clerestory windows been filled with good tracery and stained glass, and had the nave been spanned, as intended, by a rich stone vaulting, the effect would have been very different from what it now is. At present the nave is covered with a ribbed ceiling of wood, and the springers of the unfinished vault project between the arches of the clerestory.

The main arcade is Decorated, of rather plain character. The mouldings of the arches are, however, deep

and effective. On the south side nearly all the small shaft capitals of the piers retain their Decorated sculpture and foliage; on the north they have been altered. Capitals of the time of Henry VII. have been inserted; and among the foliage of two (one of the first detached pillar from the west end, another near the centre of the nave) are the initials S. R. and R.,—those of Abbot Simon Ripley (1485—1492). Above this arcade is a lofty clerestory, with a large Perpendicular window in each bay. The lower part of the arch in which this window is inserted is blank wall; and a passage runs through at the base, piercing the jambs in each bay. The stage above the main arcade thus serves the double purpose of a triforium and clerestory. It is entirely of Perpendicular date—the work, probably, of Abbot Ripley. A similar arrangement was not uncommon in the later Decorated and Perpendicular periods—the finest example being perhaps the triforial clerestory in the choir of York Minster. (See York, Pt. I.)

A slender vaulting-shaft, rising from the base of each main pier, runs up in front of it, and terminates in a small capital of leafage at the base of the springers of the unfinished fan-vault.

Looking eastward, the view beyond the nave is almost entirely closed by the choir-screen and the organ above it. Looking westward, the view is more striking. In the west front is a fine (and in the lower part of its tracery, very unusual—see *post*, Plate VI.) Perpendicular window, the work most probably of Abbot Birchenshaw (1493—1537); and the south-west tower,

now the Consistory Court, opens picturesquely at the end of the aisle. The Norman church had western towers;[f] and the lower part of the Norman tower at the end of the north aisle still exists, and forms an entry to what (until the accession of the present Bishop in 1866) was the episcopal Palace. The south-west tower was begun in 1508, it is said, on the Norman foundations. It was never completed; and rises only to the base of the clerestory.

V. The *nave-aisles*, like the nave itself, were altered in the Perpendicular period, and preparations were made for vaulting them in the same manner. "In the eastern bay of each aisle there is a commencement of the Decorated vaulting, of the fourteenth century"—(of the same period, that is, as the main arcade of the nave)—"showing that the monks never lost sight of the object of vaulting their church throughout, though they were never able to complete it."[g] In each bay of the south aisle is a Decorated window. The lower part of the wall of the north aisle is Norman, and has on its exterior six sepulchral recesses, with Norman mouldings. (See § XVII.) The line of this wall and the remains of the Norman tower at its west end prove that the Norman nave occupied the same space and was of the same dimensions as that which now exists.

There are some modern monuments on the aisle

[f] Or at least it was intended that there should be *one* tower at the west end. It is possible that this, now the north-west tower, was never completed; and there is some doubt whether there was a Norman south-west tower at all.

[g] J. H. Parker, 'Mediæval Archit. of Chester,' p. 24.

walls, and disfiguring the piers of the nave: but none of them demand particular attention.

VI. The screen which separates the nave from the choir has been removed since the beginning of the late restoration, from the eastern to the western side of the tower. The tower is thus included in the present choir; and it seems probable that before the changes of the sixteenth century the screen was placed one bay farther toward the west. The first piers of the nave show indications of this; and the parapet in front of the clerestory passage is in this first bay pierced with a quatrefoil. The transepts also are separated from the nave-aisles by iron grilles, so that we may pass at once into the choir. (See for the north transept, § XIII. —for the south, § XV.)

The *choir-screen* is very plain work of the fourteenth century, with an arcade on either side of the portal. The screen itself has undergone some changes during the "restoration."[h] The massive piers between which it stands are, like the eastern piers of the tower, Norman work. They were recased in the fifteenth century, when the arches above them were constructed. The sides of the piers and the broad soffetes of the arches are covered with Perpendicular panelling.

The *choir* (Frontispiece) is far more impressive than the nave. It terminates eastward in an arch of the same height as the arches of the main arcade, and above it is a

[h] Some fragments of stonework, once forming part of it, have been removed for the present (1868) from the south choir aisle, where they were preserved.

window filled with geometrical tracery. Through the arch a view is opened to the Lady-chapel, the east window of which is filled with modern stained glass. The general arrangement resembles that of Hereford Cathedral, but the effect is far inferior. The Lady-chapel is so much darker than the choir, that its length and distance are greatly lost. The ceiling of the choir also is cold and wants colour. But, in spite of defects, the general view, especially from the western angles of the stalls, is fine. With the dark and very rich stallwork for a foreground, the eye ranges along the lofty main arcade, crowned by its peculiar triforium and high clerestory. The stained glass of the windows adds, no doubt, to the general effect, however indifferent it may prove on a closer examination.

The Norman choir, as Mr. Hussey discovered with certainty during the late restorations, terminated eastward in an apse, and a smaller apse formed the termination of each choir-aisle.[1] The central eastern apse terminated in what is now the third bay from the tower, whilst the apses of the aisles projected not quite so far. The Norman choir, therefore, although of the same width, was very much shorter than that which now

[1] Mr. Hussey's plan and short description will be found in the fifth volume of the 'Journal of the Archæological Institute.' In the Norman church "there was probably also an apsidal chapel on the east side of each transept, making five apses altogether, as may be seen in many churches in Aquitaine of about this time; and the fashion was continued later in the churches on the Rhine."—J. H. Parker. Compare also Norwich Cathedral, which retains three of its five apses; and Gloucester, which still has four.

exists. Besides the space under the tower, the present choir and presbytery consist of five bays. The altar now stands in the easternmost bay; but before the restoration the sedilia, which now occupy the south side of this bay, and the wall with its aumbries on the north, were placed in the adjoining bay westward, proving that the high altar stood there. Behind the high altar, in the easternmost bay, slightly in front of the eastern arch, perhaps stood (before the construction of the Perpendicular chapels at the extremities of the aisles, see § XI.) the shrine of St. Werburgh. The whole of the choir and presbytery is now at one level.

VII. Upon due examination a considerable difference will be found between the piers and arches on the two sides of the choir. Those on the north side are better and richer than those on the south, indicating that the work was begun on that side, and that, perhaps from want of funds, the south side was afterwards finished so as to produce the same effect, but with much less labour. The work throughout the choir is apparently of three distinct periods, though with no great interval between each. The former two are decidedly Early English, and date no doubt before 1211, when the choir is said to have been "finished." The third may be called either advanced Early English or first Decorated. It can hardly, however, be so late as the reign of Edward I., to which period it has been usually assigned. To the *first* or best Early English period belong the eastern arch, opening to the retrochoir and Lady-chapel; the two first piers (with the eastern

return) on the north side, and the triforium in the two easternmost bays on the same side. To the *second* period, also Early English, but somewhat later and poorer, belong the three easternmost bays on the south side, with the triforium above them. To the *third* or early Decorated period must be assigned the two westernmost piers and arches, with their returns, on both sides of the choir, and the triforium over both, besides the triforium in the third bay from the west on the north side. The vaulting-shafts are Early English in the eastern portion of the choir, and early Decorated in the western. The clerestory throughout is of the third period. The vaulting, like that in the nave, was never completed, and that which now exists is modern and of plaister.

The mouldings of the Early English arches of the first period, especially those of the eastern arch, are very bold, deep, and numerous. Those of the second period, opposite, are far shallower, and of course were less costly in production. The piers throughout are octangular, with engaged shafts. The triforium has four trefoiled arches in each bay. The earlier triforium, of which there are two bays, in the north-east corner of the choir, differs remarkably from that in the other bays, not only in its deeper mouldings, but in the singular stilts which support its arches. At the back of the triforium are round-headed recesses, of the same date as the rest of the work. The clerestory, of somewhat unusual design for its period, has a single lofty window in each bay, filled with debased tracery. The

two westernmost on the north side retain some much-worn tracery, which may perhaps be late Decorated. The jambs and splays are, however, of the twelfth century. The window above the eastern arch is entirely modern. It is filled with stained glass by Wailes.

The corbels of the vaulting-shafts on the south side are sculptured with grotesques, and deserve notice. One of these, west of the bishop's throne, represents Samson rending the lion.

The easternmost bay on the north side is closed by a wall, in which are two aumbries with Decorated foliage. This wall, as has already been said, has been removed from the adjoining bay, as have the sedilia opposite. These are in two stages, with two seats in each. The canopies are much mutilated, and have pedestals for figures above them. In the canopies themselves are some singular grotesques. The whole is Decorated.

VIII. The *stalls* which fill the western bays are rich Perpendicular work, of the fifteenth century. The tabernacled canopies are very light and good, and there is a very fine mass of carving over the door of the organ-screen. The finials of the stalls deserve notice. The misereres or subsellia are of the same date as the rest of the work.

At the end of the stalls, on the south side, is the *bishop's throne* (Title-page). This has been formed from the base of the shrine of St. Werburgh, which seems to have served its present purpose since the foundation of the see in the sixteenth century. It has, however, been

so greatly altered during the late "restoration," that it is difficult to ascertain the ancient arrangement. The lower part, with niches for figures, is ancient. The part resting on this, as high as the small gilt figures, is modern. The figures themselves are old, and before the alteration they rested on the ancient base. The pinnacles and all the upper portion are modern. The ancient portions are early Decorated work, of the thirteenth century. The niches in front and at the sides of the base are lined with a small arcade, and vaulted. Above them are foliaged canopies. The gilt figures hold scrolls, once perhaps bearing names. They are conjectured to represent kings and queens of Mercia, connected either directly or collaterally with St. Werburgh. It is possible that when the shrine itself was perfect, the lower part, with niches, formed a portion of the base, whilst the small figures may have been in a canopy supported by marble shafts. Under this canopy and on the base the feretory or actual shrine, with the relics, may have rested. This, however, is but conjecture, since no drawing or description exists of the shrine before the Reformation.

To the throne a brass plate is affixed, with an inscription indicating that it was restored by Canon Slade, 1846, in memory of Bishop Law, translated to Bath in 1824.

The *pulpit*, opposite the throne, is modern, and designed by R. C. Hussey, as are the stone screens at the back.

The present *altar* is a table apparently of the reign of Charles II. The reredos is modern.

IX. The *central tower*, forming the westernmost portion of the choir, is carried on four massive piers, which in their core are no doubt Norman, and carried the central tower of the church of Hugh Lupus. These piers are cased with later work; Decorated on the south and north sides; Perpendicular panelling east and west. The south arch is closed, and a modern window, looking into the transept, or church of St. Oswald, is inserted in the walling. An arch is thrown across the top of the tower, dividing the flat roof into panels. Below, on each side, are two arches, now quite closed. Above the piers the work is entirely Perpendicular, and must, no doubt, be assigned either to Abbot Ripley or to his successor Birchenshaw.

X. The high altar, as has already been said, stood originally in the second bay (from the east) of the choir. Before the construction of the Perpendicular chapels at the ends of the choir-aisles (see *post*, § XI.), the only entrance from the choir to the *Lady-chapel* was through the eastern arch, at the back of the high altar.

The Lady-chapel is (or rather was at first) Early English throughout, somewhat later than the Early English of the choir, but no doubt forming part of the same design. The chapel is of three bays; the westernmost of which, at first containing windows on either side, like the others, were opened to the ground at the time the Perpendicular chapels were added to the choir-aisles, so as to form a retrochoir or procession path. The shrine of St. Werburgh may then have stood be-

tween the westernmost and the second bay, so that pilgrims to it, after the chapels were built, could ascend one aisle, pass in front of the shrine by the procession path, and descend the other choir-aisle. It was no doubt the inconvenience of the passage through the eastern choir-arch which led to the construction of the Perpendicular chapels.

The Lady-chapel (Plate II.) has been restored and elaborately decorated.[k] Its windows had been filled with bad Perpendicular tracery, the roof had been covered with whitewash, and both walls and floor were rough and neglected. The central bays, like the two westernmost, had at some time been opened to the ground. These have been restored to their possible ancient condition—closed half-way up, and with an Early English window, of three unglazed openings, above, looking into the aisle-chapels. These windows were designed by Mr. Hussey. The east window, of five lancets declining from the centre, was designed by Mr. G. G. Scott. On either side, in this bay, is a window retaining its Perpendicular tracery, which, since the rest of the chapel has been altered, might well be removed.[l] Below, on the south side, are a sedile and double piscina, with

[k] Some time after the restoration and the elaborate decoration of the roof (on which Mr. Octavius Hudson was occupied for about five years) were completed, it was ascertained that the Lady-chapel had been built on no foundations whatever. It has now (1868) been underpinned throughout, and is, happily, safe.

[l] It is proposed to restore these windows to their E.E. form in the course of the present (1868) work.

CHESTER CATHEDRAL. LADY CHAPEL.

graceful foliage on the shaft-capitals and monastic heads at the terminations of the hood-mouldings. On the north side is a large aumbrie, deep in the wall.

Triple vaulting-shafts, with capitals of fine Early English foliage, carry the vault itself, which is of stone, and somewhat later than the rest of the chapel. It was the only stone vault throughout the church which the monks were able to complete, although preparations were made for stone vaulting in both choir and nave. The present arrangement of the whole chapel resembles that of the Lady-chapel at Hereford, in which unglazed windows open from the chapel into the eastern transept. It is, however, not altogether certain whether the bays at Chester, in which the unglazed windows are now placed, were not always open to the ground after the building of the Perpendicular chapels.

The Lady-chapel is throughout richly and elaborately coloured. The *roof* was decorated by Mr. Octavius Hudson, the "restorer" of colour and ornament to the Chapter-house at Salisbury. Upon removing the whitewash he found sufficient traces of the ancient patterns on the ribs and mouldings to enable him to reproduce them with certainty. He has added medallions on a gold ground in the spaces between the ribs, and the vault itself is covered with a flowing pattern. A line of scroll pattern in red is carried under the string-courses at the base of the windows. The vaulting-shafts are coloured, and the capitals coloured and gilt. The fine bosses of the vault are enriched in the same

way, and represent (the easternmost) the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, and the murder of Becket.

The east window is filled with stained glass, by Wailes. It represents the events in Our Lord's history, immediately before and after the crucifixion. In colour this window is tolerably pleasing. The *reredos* below it (the general design and character are seen in Plate II.), formed entirely of glass mosaic, was designed by Mr. A. Blomfield, and is very effective. It represents, in five panels, the Salutation, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Kings, and the Flight into Egypt. Between the panels are broad bands of conventional ornament—birds and flowers. The colour is very good, and the material is, of course, indestructible. The pavement of the entire chapel is of encaustic tiles and marble.

The fabric of the Lady-chapel was restored (with the exception of the windows, the cost of which was otherwise contributed) in 1855, by the Chapter. Mrs. Hamilton, of Hoole Lodge, as a memorial of her family, many of whom are buried here, caused the roof and walls to be decorated as we now see them.

At the east end, close under the north wall, is the tomb of Archdeacon Wrangham; died 1842; "Expectans Dominum." At the west end, at the back of the reredos of the choir-altar, is some stallwork, the front of which, bearing the date 1637, formed part of the old pulpit in the choir. There are also the initials of Bishop Bridgman (1619-1652).

XI. The *choir-aisles*, in the Norman church, termi-

nated, as has already been said, in apses. When, in the thirteenth century, the Norman choir, with its aisles, was replaced by an Early English building, both choir and aisles were prolonged considerably eastward, and although the apsidal termination of the aisles was retained, the plan of the new apses was a half-hexagon, whilst that of the Norman was semicircular. Late in the fifteenth century these Early English apses were removed, and chapels were added at the ends of the aisles. In both aisles the Perpendicular work is very awkwardly joined to the Early English; and the Early English jamb, with the mouldings and shafts for one of the apsidal windows, retaining the groove for the glass in an oblique position (agreeing with the half-hexagon form of the apse) remain in each aisle-wall, at the entrance to the chapel. The Perpendicular chapels themselves are square-ended, and of two bays. The triple vaulting-shafts in the first bay are apparently Early English, and of the same character as those in the easternmost bay of the aisle. Their bases rest on a stone bench, lower in the chapel than in the aisle. This work (if it be really Early English) probably formed part of the apses, and was in this manner turned to account by the builders of the chapels. The vaulting which rests on the shafts is Perpendicular.

The wall of the *north* choir-aisle (for the *south* aisle see § XIV.) was rebuilt in the early Decorated period, but all the present windows are modern. Their character is geometrical. The eastern bay of this aisle (like that opposite) retains its Early English vaulting; and

there is a piscina of the same date in each south wall, marking the site of the altars in the apse. The rest of the vaulting throughout the aisles is "part of the work of the fifteenth century, ingeniously dovetailed in with the shafts and springers of the thirteenth." [m]

In the eastern chapel of the north aisle a monument, designed by Messrs. Kelly and Edwards of Chester, has been erected for the late Bishop Graham (died 1866).

The windows throughout the aisle are filled with stained glass. The east window is by O'Connor; the four next by Wailes; the fifth by Heyton; and the westernmost by Clayton and Bell. These windows, like others throughout the church, are, of course, of various degrees of merit, but the general effect is most unsatisfactory. The great error here, as at Ely and elsewhere, has been in permitting the employment of various artists, whose designs and mode of colouring differ widely. In all such cases the result is to produce an exhibition (and for the most part a very bad one) of stained glass, rather than a grave and impressive uniformity, which might well be allowed to vary with each great division of the church, but should always be in keeping with its architecture.

XII. From the westernmost bay of the north choir-aisle, a portal opens to a small chapel or vestry, now used as the music school. This portal is of the fourteenth century. The vestry or chapel dates from the end of the twelfth century, and is of transitional

[m] J. H. Parker.

character, though with a greater tendency to Early English than to Norman forms. It replaced an earlier Norman chapel, which opened from the north transept. The circular Norman arch, once opening to the transept, remains (closed up) in the west wall of the vestry; and a peculiar shouldered arch inserted within it has also been closed. At the east end of the vestry is a triple window. The vaulting is transitional. Within the vestry, "one of the corbel heads which terminate the label of the (fourteenth century) doorway is introduced in a singular manner in the middle of the vaulting-shaft of the twelfth."[n] There has been an altar below the east window, and in the south wall is a very curious low sedile. Against the west wall is placed a chest or cupboard with very beautiful ironwork of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. It should be compared with the ironwork, nearly of the same period, on the cope chests in York Minster, and on the chapter-house doors in the same cathedral. (See York, Pt. I. §§ XIV., XIX.)

Between the portal of the vestry and the north transept is the square-headed opening of a chimney.

XIII. The *north transept* projects in two very narrow bays beyond the aisle, and is the most complete portion of the Norman church remaining. The walls are entirely Norman. On the north side is a fragment of the Norman triforium, showing massive shafts, with large plain capitals. The windows above were inserted in the Decorated period, but are now filled with Per-

[n] J. H. Parker.

pendicular tracery. On the west side, high in the wall, are three round-headed Norman windows, now closed. Above are two large Decorated windows, with Perpendicular tracery. On the north side is a large and broad Perpendicular window, with inner mullions attached by through stones to the window itself. Below this window is hung a large piece of tapestry representing the story of Elymas the sorcerer, after Raffaelle's cartoon. This tapestry hung for a long period above the altar at the east end of the choir.

In the centre of the transept is a cenotaph for Bishop Pearson (1672—1686, see Pt. II.), who was buried here, in his own cathedral, without any memorial until the erection of the present monument. The effigy of the bishop, mitred, and holding a book between his hands, which are folded on his breast, lies on an altar tomb. At the feet are angels. On the sides of the tomb are heads of the twelve Apostles, and below, the sentences of the Creed. A fine canopy of metal-work rises above the effigy. At the angles are figures of angels bearing emblems of the Christian warfare—the sword of the Spirit; the helmet of salvation; the breastplate of righteousness; and the shield of faith. This part of the work is by Skidmore of Coventry, and the metal is richly inlaid with coloured marbles, crystals and jaspers.

XIV. The vaulting of the *south choir-aisle* has already (§ xi.) been noticed. There is a fine Early English double piscina in the easternmost bay of the aisle, and on the opposite wall an Early English bracket

with a Perpendicular canopy. It will here be seen that in the back of the sedilia are two openings, with rabbets for glass, thus forming windows through which a view of the high altar might be obtained from the aisle.

The windows throughout the aisle are modern, and of early Decorated character. They are filled with stained glass. The east window of the Perpendicular chapel is by WAILES, as are the three next below it. The fourth window is by HARDMAN, and deserves special notice. The two below are by WAILES.

In the south wall, nearly opposite the sedilia, are two sepulchral recesses with foiled headings. In each recess is a stone coffin, apparently of earlier date than the arch above it. The slab on one of these coffins bears a cross formed by four fleurs-de-lys within a circle. The point of the staff pierces the head of a coiled serpent. Round the base is a dog-tooth moulding. The tomb is probably that of an abbot toward the middle of the twelfth century.

At the upper end of the aisle is a coffin-shaped altar-tomb, the sides of which have quatrefoiled panels, filled alternately with roses and lions' heads. Between the panels are small painted figures of kings and bishops. The colour and gilding are well preserved on one side of the monument. This is due to its having been placed against the wall under the sedilia, a position which it occupied from, probably, the dissolution of the abbey until the late restorations. There is a local tradition that this tomb, which is apparently of the fifteenth century, is that of Henry IV., Emperor

of Germany, whose struggle with the great Pope Hildebrand has made his name so famous, and who was compelled to abdicate in 1103. It is difficult to account for the rise of such a tradition. It is mentioned by no early writer, and the tomb, in all probability, is that of an Abbot of St. Werburgh's.°

XV. The *south transept*, or the *Church of St. Oswald*, from its size and proportion to the rest of the building, is no doubt unique among English churches. The Norman church seems to have had a transept on this side with an eastern apse or chapel, corresponding in dimensions to the existing north transept. This may have been replaced by a larger building before the fourteenth century; but if so, all trace of the work which first superseded the Norman transept has disappeared. The present transept, four bays in length, with eastern and western aisles (78 ft. 4 in. long by 77 ft. wide, including the aisles) resembles the nave in having an arcade of the fourteenth century, with a clerestory and vaulting-shafts of the fifteenth. The vaulting, as in the nave, was never completed, and only the springers exists. The south window, and the windows in the west aisle, are also of the fifteenth century. The eastern aisle dates from late in the fourteenth century, and has its windows filled with flamboyant tracery. The most southernly bay of this

° Browne Willis, whose 'Survey of Chester Cathedral' was published in 1727, observes :—"As to the supposed monument of Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, in this church, it is plainly a mistake and vulgar error. He deceased at Spires in Germany, being buried there, as our authors tell us."

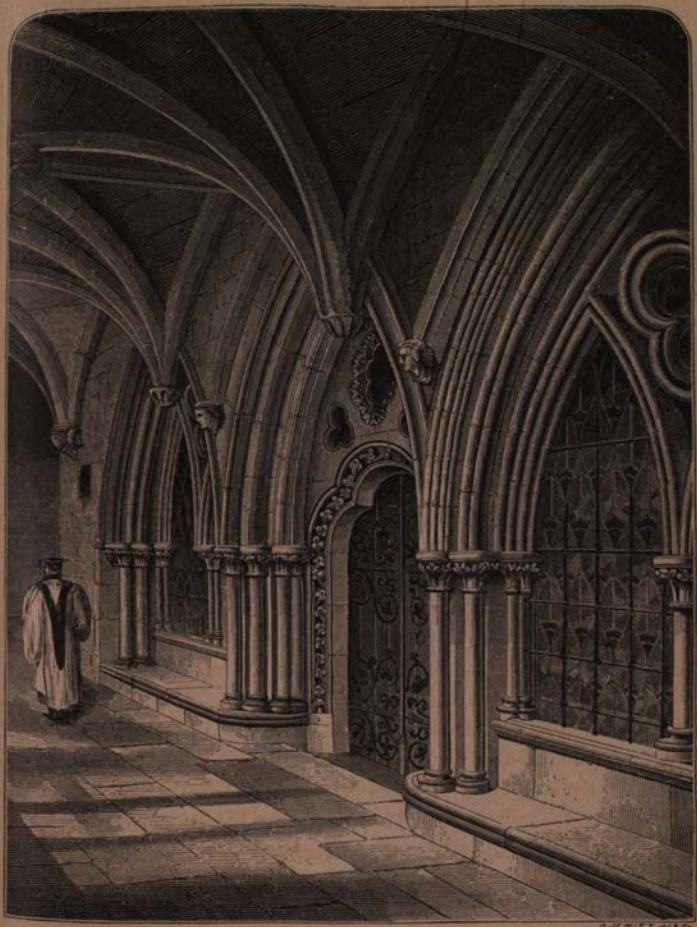
aisle is vaulted, and deserves attention. The vaulting is of the same date as the aisle itself. The Perpendicular work is no doubt of the time of Abbot Ripley (1485—1492) and of his successor, Birchenshaw (1493—1537). Ripley is said to have rebuilt the nave, tower, and south transept; but, as in the nave, his work here was rather alteration and addition than rebuilding. In both cases the earlier main arcade and other portions were allowed to remain. The general effect, had the vaulting been completed, would have been fine.

The screen wall with its window, between the cathedral and the transept, was erected in 1828 by the Dean of Chester, Edward Copleston, who in the same year became Bishop of Llandaff. Before that time the transept was open to the main church. It had, however, always been used as a separate church or chapel; such an one as is found attached to many other large churches, with a distinct foundation for its clergy; although an attached chapel of this character occurs nowhere else in England on so large a scale.

XVI. The vestibule of the *chapter-house* is entered through a door in the north-east angle of the north transept. The *vestibule* (partially restored) which is Early English, and of the same date as the chapter-house itself, is nearly square (30 ft. 4 in. long, 27 ft. 4 in. wide), and is divided into three aisles by pillars without capital or impost, the ribs of the vaulting being carried down to the bases without any break. This arrangement is rather continental than English, and perhaps indicates the design of a foreign architect. The

vestibule, which is only lighted from the cloister (the entrance from the cloister is a very fine Early English composition — Plate III.) is much lower than the chapter-house itself, and it has been suggested that the dormitory of the monks rose above it. This, however, is at least doubtful. (See *post*, and § XVII.)

Many casts which were made during the restoration are arranged here; and those from the bosses of the vault in the Lady-chapel well deserve attention. Here also is a portion of a stone coffin found in the chapter-house in 1723. This coffin, with the remains it contained, were long considered to be those of Hugh Lupus, the great Norman Earl of Chester. The wolf's head on the coffin-lid first led Pennant to form this conjecture. But the carving agrees precisely with that of a wolf's head placed by Abbot Ripley on the wall of Saighton Manor House, close to Chester; and the interlaced letters S.R., which also appear on the coffin, afford additional and convincing proof that it was Simon Ripley, the restorer of the nave and of the south transept, whose remains were discovered in 1723. A stone with a Roman inscription, found on the site of the Deanery, should also be noticed. It bears the words COH. I. C. OCRATI. MAXIMINI. M. P., and is, according to Mr. Roach Smith, to be ascribed to the century of Ocratius Maximinus, of the first cohort of the twentieth legion. The stone has been a facing stone in the city wall, and apparently commemorated the completion of a certain portion of the wall by the soldiers of the century. There are similar records on



CHESTER CATHEDRAL. ENTRANCE TO CHAPTER HOUSE FROM CLOISTER.

CHESTER CATHEDRAL. CHAPTER HOUSE.

stones found along the line of the great northern wall.

The *chapter-house* itself (Plate IV.) is, like others of the earlier chapter-houses (those of Exeter and Oxford for example), a parallelogram. It is of three bays, and is throughout very fine Early English. The east window is of five lights, declining from the centre. In the next bay are, on either side, windows of three lights, and the westernmost bay contains blank triplets. All the windows have double planes, and there is a passage along their base. Shafts, in groups of four, with capitals of leafage, support the inner arches of the windows, which are ringed in the centre, and there tied back to the outer wall. Tripled vaulting-shafts with very richly foliaged capitals rise between each bay. The vault itself is of the same date as the rest of the building. At the west end is the portal, a single pointed arch, opening to the vestibule. On either side is a window of the same height as the portal, and above the door what is now a window of three lights, but with blind arches on either side. The triplet, now open, was, it is said, originally of blank arches, since the dormitory ran outside them over the roof of the vestibule. There seems, however, to be no distinct or satisfactory authority either for this position of the dormitory, or for the statement that the arches of the western window were once unpierced. (See § XVII.)

The chapter-house may be nearly of the same date as the Early English work at the eastern end of the choir. But it is much finer, and is indeed the best

and most striking portion which remains, either of the church or of the buildings attached to it. No record of its construction has been discovered.

The *chapter library* is now arranged in this room, somewhat to the damage of its architectural character. It contains no books of special importance, though there are some early editions of the classics. In a case on the table is a fine MS. Bible of the twelfth century. It differs in some respects from the Vulgate, chiefly in the order of the books, and in giving Jerome's first version of the Psalms from the Hebrew, instead of that afterwards adopted. In the New Testament, after the Epistle to the Colossians, is inserted the Apochryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans.

In the chapter-house are hung the old colours of the 22nd or Cheshire regiment, much shot, torn, and shattered. They were present at the taking of Quebec.

XVII. Through the vestibule of the chapter-house (see Plate III.) or through a door at the east end of the north nave-aisle, we pass into the *cloisters*. The existing cloister is late Perpendicular work, and of no very high interest. The unusual position of the cloister and of the monastic buildings, on the north instead of the south side of the nave, was probably owing to a grant of land having been made in that direction, whilst the boundary of the abbey was narrower on the south. That there was a Norman cloister, although the walks may then have been constructed entirely of wood, is evident from the Norman portals which still remain. One of these opened from the east end of the north aisle into the eastern walk; another (but

this is of later date) into the western walk from the north aisle; there is a third in the western walk, once opening to a passage that communicated with the abbot's house; and a fourth portal opened to a passage across the west end of the refectory. All these doorways are of somewhat late Norman character.

The south walk of the cloister, which ran under the church, has been destroyed. In the wall of the nave-aisle are five round-headed Norman recesses, intended, no doubt, by the builders of the church to receive the remains of as many abbots. The mouldings of these recesses are so completely destroyed by time and weather (owing to the soft nature of the sandstone) that they have been reduced to a plain square section; and the arches have thus a much earlier appearance than their real date would give them. Of the persons actually buried here, there is no record. In the destroyed south walk of the cloister were many carrels or small chambers for study, and some of these still remain in a tolerably perfect condition at the south end of the west walk. Similar carrels (*quarrés*—squared enclosures) are found in all monastic cloisters. There are excellent examples at Gloucester and at Worcester. We are told that at Durham cases containing the books most in request by the monks were arranged against the wall opposite to the carrels, so as to be readily supplied when wanted. (See Durham Cathedral, Pt. I. § xxvii.)

In the *west* walk, at the south-west angle, was a portal opening to a passage, now closed, communicating

with the abbot's house. Beyond this, through the whole extent of the walk, ranges a long, low substructure, which formerly extended still further, across the west end of the refectory; but this portion is now divided from the rest by a wall. The total length was about 105 feet; the width is 40 feet. A row of central piers supports the vaulting, "groined without ribs, but with arches to carry it, longitudinal and transverse." The whole of this work is early Norman, and the purpose to which the chamber was applied has given rise to much discussion. It has been supposed that, divided by wooden partitions which have disappeared, it served as "promptuaria et pannaria"—store-rooms and pantries—such as must no doubt have existed in close connexion with the refectory. Such apartments are mentioned in the charter of Henry VIII., dividing the conventual buildings between the bishop and the dean. A long vaulted chamber of similar character, though of Perpendicular date, occupies the same position in the cloisters at Durham, and there unquestionably served as the "frater house," or common room of the monks. (See Durham Cathedral, Pt. I. § xxix.). It is probable that this apartment (which although now a mere crypt has only become so since the dissolution, owing to the change in the level of the surrounding ground) was designed for a somewhat similar purpose, and either served as the frater house of the Chester monks or as a "secunda aula," or guest-hall, which, like the "promptuaria," is mentioned in the charter. Such a hall may have been formed

from a portion of the long apartment, whilst the rest may have been divided into cellars and store-rooms.

At Durham the *dormitory* extends above the vaulted chambers in the west walk of the cloisters; and this was its usual position in England.[p] Whether it occupied this position here, however, is uncertain. In a survey of the monastery of St. Werburgh, made soon after the disolution,[q] a passage in the eastern walk of the cloisters is marked as "the passage and stairs to the dormitory;" and there is still a tradition that the dormitory extended on this side, above the vestibule of the chapter-house. In the absence of any more decided proof, it can only be said that there was certainly a building above the long substructure in the west walk; and that this was the ordinary position for the dormitory of the monks.

XVIII. In the *north* walk of the cloister is the entrance to the *refectory*—entirely modern—having east of it the arches of the ancient lavatory, and west the original portal of the refectory, now walled up. The basin of the lavatory no longer remains. The three arches above the recess in which it stood are Early English, with deep mouldings, and divided by groups of short, clustered shafts. The westernmost

[p] In many French abbeys the dormitory was on the east side of the cloister.

[q] It is preserved in the Randle Holme's collection in the Brit. Mus. (Harl. MSS. 2073). A reduced copy of the plan, with the references, is given in Mr. Parker's 'Mediæval Antiquities of Chester,' and is also to be found in Lysons 'Cheshire' (*Magna Britannia*).

arch has been broken through by the modern entrance to the refectory, and the corbels and ribs of the Perpendicular vaulting of the cloisters are brought down against the Early English arcade in an awkward manner. The ancient portal of the refectory, also Early English, is very striking and graceful. The heading of the arch is deeply foliated, and the capitals of the shafts are enriched with good leafage. Here, also, the Perpendicular work is curiously mixed with the earlier; and a corbel at the eastern end of the portal bears the arms and supporters of Henry VII.

The *refectory* itself, part of which now serves as the King's Grammar School, extended nearly the whole length of the northern walk. It was 90 feet long by 34 feet wide; but the western part has been destroyed, and the eastern portion which remains has been much altered. In its original state the refectory was very fine Early English, of somewhat late character. The stone, however, had become much decayed in the fifteenth century, when the whole building was re-cased, and Perpendicular tracery inserted in the windows. In the interior, the Early English window jambs and shafts still exist; and, happily, the lector's pulpit, with its staircase, one of the finest examples in England (Plate V.). Indeed, the only refectory pulpit which can at all be compared with it is that in what is now the parish church of Beaulieu, in Hampshire, but anciently the refectory of the Cistercian abbey there. The pulpit at Beaulieu is nearly of the same date as this at Chester, but is of somewhat richer character.

STONE PULPIT IN THE REFECTORY
CHESTER CATHEDRAL

In this example the open arcade of the staircase, with the quatrefoils piercing the wall above, and the mouldings and leaf ornaments on the projecting base of the pulpit, are unusually graceful and effective. There were windows, now closed, at the back of the staircase and of the pulpit. They are still traceable in the wall, and might easily be restored.

An Early English doorway at the east end of the refectory (seen in Plate V.) opened to an inner court.

XIX. In the *east* walk of the cloister is an Early English doorway leading to a staircase, which has been already mentioned as that called traditionally the "staircase to the dormitory." The rooms to which it led are now destroyed, and it is impossible to determine the position of the dormitory with any certainty (see *ante*, § XVII.). A passage (with very good Early English vaulting, which deserves attention), between this staircase and the vestibule of the chapter-house is marked in the plan before referred to as "the Maiden's Aisle." It possibly led to the infirmary. A very picturesque view is obtained from it across the cloisters, the central space of which is named in the same plan the "Sprise Garden," a corruption of the "Paradise Garden," the churchyard or "God's Acre" of the monks.

A passage at the end of the refectory leads from the cloisters into what was the great outer court of the abbey. This, which is now surrounded by houses, contained the large breweries, bakehouses, and storehouses of the monastery. There was a great well near the south-west angle. The abbot's house, with its gardens and offices, extended between the western

wall of enclosure and the cloisters. Part of it served until recently as the Bishop's Palace.

The wall of enclosure and the gateway opening to this outer court date from about 1377, the last year of the reign of Edward III. In that year a license was obtained to crenellate the abbey. Except the unusual span of the great archway, there is nothing in the gateway which calls for special attention.

XX. The church, as has been mentioned, was re-cased nearly throughout in the fifteenth century. The stone is again in a much decayed condition, and the *exterior* of the cathedral is consequently of no very high interest. The west front, with its large Perpendicular window (Plate VI.), is too much shut in to be at all effective. The portal below the window is modern. In the south and west fronts of the south-west tower are Perpendicular windows, with canopied niches at the sides. The central tower is Perpendicular, with turrets at the angles, rising slightly above the roof.

The external cornice of the Lady-chapel (now hidden by the roofs of the later side-chapels) had a remarkable projecting tooth-ornament, very bold and effective. This is now only to be seen by creeping between the roofs. There is an ornament of the same character, though not so bold, along the cornice of the north choir aisle. This is not covered, but is much decayed.

One of the best views of the cathedral is obtained from the city wall; and from the garden beyond the chapter-house there is rather a picturesque view of the north-east side of the church. The east end of the chapter-house is here also seen. (See *ante*, Plate I.)

CHESTER CATHEDRAL. WEST END.

CHESTER CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.

THE history of the Monastery of St. Werburgh, before, in 1541, its church became the cathedral of the diocese of Chester, has already been given (Pt. I. §§ I.. II.). It has also been said (Pt. I. § I.) that Peter, the first Norman bishop of Lichfield (1072—1085) removed the place of the see from Lichfield to Chester, and that his successor, Robert de Limesey (1086—1117) again transferred it to Coventry. The succeeding bishops of Lichfield and Coventry occasionally called themselves bishops of Chester; but no such see was distinctly recognised, and Chester could boast of no cathedral, until Henry VIII. made it the place of a new and distinct see, the diocese of which embraced the counties of Chester and Lancashire, the archdeaconry of Richmond (hitherto within the diocese of Carlisle), and part of Yorkshire. In 1848, on the erection of the see of Manchester, this diocese was subdivided. *See* Manchester Cathedral, Part II.

Werburgh was descended from Anna, King of the East Anglians, and his wife Hereswythe. Both were recognised as saints; and they were the parents of four sainted daughters, Sexburgh, Abbess of Sheppey, and afterwards

of Ely; Etheldrythe, the famous Abbess and Patroness of Ely; Ethelburgh; and Withburgh. Sexburgh, before she retired to Sheppey, had been the wife of Ercombert, king of Kent; their daughter Ermenilde married Wulfere, king of Mercia; and from that union was born St. Werburgh. On Wulfere's death in the year 675 she retired with her mother to the convent at Ely, over which St. Etheldrythe was then presiding. There both Ermenilde and Werburgh took the veil; and after remaining a short time at Ely, Werburgh undertook, at the request of her uncle Etheldred, then king of Mercia, the arrangement and direction of monastic houses newly established at Hanbury and Trentham. Her mother Ermenilde had in the mean time become Abbess of Ely; and Werburgh succeeded to that position on her death. She appears to have regulated all three houses until her own death, the date of which is uncertain. It occurred, however, at Trentham; and although she had desired to be buried at Hanbury, preparations were made for her interment where she died, when the brethren of Hanbury came by night into the church at Trentham, where the body was laid, and carried it off. At Hanbury Werburgh was duly buried. About nine years later, her body was disinterred and enshrined, when, according to the usual assertion, it was found entire and uncorrupt. In the year 875, when the Danes were ravaging Mercia, the monks of Hanbury fled with the shrine and relics to Chester, where the body of St. Werburgh remained undisturbed. She was the great patron of the city.

"In the Abbay of Chestre she is shryned rychely
Pryores and lady of that holy place;
The chyef protectryce of the said monastery,
Longe before the conquest by deuyne grace.
Protectryce of the cytee she is and ever was
Called specyall prymate and pryncypall presydent
There rulynge under our lorde omnypotent."

These lines are from the 'Holy Life and History of St. Werburge,' written in verse by 'John Bradshaw,' a monk of Chester, and first printed in 1521 by Pynson. It has been reprinted for the Chetham Society. This life was founded on a Passionary belonging to the abbey, and now lost. A life of St. Werburgh remains in MS. in the library of Benet College, Cambridge (I. 13).

The first bishop of Chester was

[A.D. 1541, deprived 1554.] JOHN BIRD, who had been Provincial of the Carmelites in England. In 1537 Bird had been consecrated suffragan bishop of Penreth,[a] and in 1539 became Bishop of Bangor, whence he was translated to Chester. On Queen Mary's accession Bird was deprived, but subsequently reconverted himself; was made a suffragan under Bishop Bonner, and rector of Dunmow, in Essex, where he died an old man in 1556.

[A.D. 1554—1555.] GEORGE COATES, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, and Prebendary of Chester, succeeded on the deprivation of Bird, It was during the episcopate of Bishop Coates that George Marsh was condemned and burnt as a heretic at Chester. The story of his examination and condemnation is recorded, with more or less of truth, in Fox's 'Book of Martyrs.'

[A.D. 1556, deposed 1559.] CUTHBERT SCOTT, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge. Scott was a very active Romanist; and on the accession of Elizabeth was deprived, and for certain displays of disaffection was imprisoned in the Fleet. On his release he escaped to Louvain, where he died.

[A.D. 1561—1577.] WILLIAM DOWNHAM, Canon of Westminster, was appointed after the see had been vacant for some months. He had been chaplain to Elizabeth before

[a] Stubbs (Reg. Sac. Ang.). Godwin makes him (wrongly) Bishop of Ossory.

her accession. The see was again some time vacant before

[A.D. 1579—1595.] WILLIAM CHADERTON succeeded. He had been President of Queen's College, Cambridge, Canon of Westminster, and Archdeacon of York; all which preferments, as well as the bishopric of Manchester, he owed to the favour of the Earl of Leicester, to whom he was chaplain. With Chester Chaderton held the Wardenship of Manchester. He was a zealous Puritan. In 1595 he was translated to Lincoln, and died in 1608.

[A.D. 1595—1596.] HUGH BELLOTT, translated from Bangor.

[A.D. 1597, translated to London 1604.] RICHARD VAUGHAN, translated from Bangor. Bishop Vaughan had great trouble with the Puritanical and Dissenting clergy in his diocese, especially in Lancashire, and endeavoured to reclaim them by frequent citations to appear before him in the parish church of Aldford, where he chiefly resided. They were, says Burnet, "very factious and insolent," and the bishop's exhortations were to little purpose. Bishop Vaughan died in London in 1607.

[A.D. 1605—1615.] GEORGE LLOYD, translated from Sodor and Man.

[A.D. 1616, translated to Lichfield 1619; and thence to Durham 1632.] THOMAS MORTON. *See* Durham Cathedral, Part II.

[A.D. 1619—1652.] JOHN BRIDGMAN. On his consecration, the revenue of the see of Chester was 420*l.*; and Bishop Bridgman held with Chester the rectory of Bangor Iscoed, in Flintshire. He was expelled at the abolition of episcopacy under the Commonwealth. His palace, with its furniture, was then sold for 1059*l.* He died at his son's house in 1652, and was buried in Kinnersley Church, in Shropshire. This son was Sir Orlando Bridgman (created 1660), successively Lord Chief Baron, Lord Chief Justice, and Keeper of the Great Seal.

[A.D. 1660—1661.] BRIAN WALTON succeeded on the Restoration. Walton was born in Cleveland in the North Riding, was educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and in 1616 removed thence to St. Peter's College. He became Prebendary of St. Paul's, and chaplain to Charles I., and was also rector of St. Martin Ongar, in London; and of Sandon, in Essex. Of both these livings he was dispossessed on the breaking out of the Civil War, and then (1645) retired to Oxford, where he was admitted a member of the University, and where he commenced his labours on his famous Polyglott Bible. On the decline of the King's cause he removed to the house of his father-in-law, Dr. Fuller, in London. There he remained until the Restoration, when he was consecrated to the see of Chester. He went into his diocese in September, 1661, and was received as he approached Chester by a great concourse of gentry and clergy, "and with such acclamations of thousands of the people as had never before been known." Bishop Walton died in London in the same year (Nov. 29th, 1661), and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral.

"The famous Polyglott of Brian Walton was published in 1657, but few copies appear to have been sold before the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, since those are very scarce which contain in the preface the praise of Cromwell for having facilitated and patronised the undertaking—praise replaced in the change of times by a loyal eulogy on the King. This Polyglott is in nine languages, though no one book of the Bible is printed in so many. Walton's 'Prolegomena' are in sixteen chapters or dissertations. His learning, perhaps, was greater than his critical acuteness or good sense; such, at least, is the opinion of Simon and Le Long. The former, in a long examination of Walton's 'Prolegomena,' treats him with all the superiority of a man who possessed both. Walton was assailed by some bigots at home for acknowledging various readings in the Scriptures, and for denying the authority of the vowel punctua-

tion. His Polyglott is not reckoned so magnificent as the Parisian edition of Le Long, but it is fuller and more convenient."[b]

The great assistant of Walton in this work was Edmund Castell, afterwards Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, whose 'Lexicon Heptaglotton' was published in 1669. The nine languages of Walton's Polyglott are Latin, Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Samaritan, Arabic, Æthiopic, Persian, and Greek.

[A.D. 1662, died two months after his consecration.] HENRY FERNE, Dean of Ely.

[A.D. 1662—1668.] GEORGE HALL, son of Joseph Hall, successively bishop of Exeter and Norwich. Bishop Hall held, with the see of Chester, the Archdeaconry of Canterbury and the rectory of Wigan. He died at Wigan, and was buried in the church there, where the inscription on his monument describes him as "Ecclesiæ servus inutilis, sed cordatus." There is, however, a monument for him in Chester Cathedral, close inside the west door. The inscription, evidently written by himself, declares that he was worthy of notice only because he was his father's son or rather shadow; "filius, imo umbra potius."

[A.D. 1668—1672.] JOHN WILKINS, "one of the most ingenious men of his age."[c] He was the son of a citizen and goldsmith of Oxford, but was born in 1614 at Fawlsey, in Northamptonshire, in the house of his mother's father, Dr. John Dod, a celebrated Dissenter. He was educated at Oxford, joined the side of the Parliament, and took the "Solemn League and Covenant." Wilkins was consequently made Warden of Wadham College by the Parliament's committee of reformation; and in 1656 he married Robina, widow of Peter French and sister of Cromwell. In 1659 Richard Cromwell made him Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; but he was ejected on the Restoration in the

[b] Hallam's Literary History, iv. p. 363. [c] Hallam.

following year. He was then for some time out of favour; but Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter, introduced him to Archbishop Sheldon, by whose influence he was at last made Dean of Ripon, and in 1668 Bishop of Chester. Like his predecessor, he held the rectory of Wigan with the see. Bishop Wilkins died in 1672 at Dr. Tillotson's house, in Chancery Lane, and was buried in the church of St. Lawrence Jewry.

Wilkins, according to Aubrey, "was no great read man, but one of much and deepe thinkeing, and of a working head, and a prudent man as well as ingeniose. He was a lustie, strong growne, well sett, broad shouldered person; cheerful and hospitable. He was extremely well beloved in his diocese." Wilkins was one of the founders of the Royal Society—"the germ of which may be traced to the year 1645, when Wallis, Wilkins, Glisson, and others less known, agreed to meet weekly at a private house in London, in order to converse on subjects connected with natural, and especially experimental philosophy."[d] After the Restoration they formed a regular society; and in the first charter, dated July 15th, 1662, Wilkins appears as one of the council. The most remarkable of the bishop's own works are 'An Essay towards a Philosophical Language,' 1668; 'The Discovery of a New World, or a Discourse tending to prove that it is probable there may be another habitable World in the Moon,' published in 1638, when he was only twenty-four years of age; a book, says Hallam, which is "one of the births of that inquiring spirit, that disdain of ancient prejudice, which the seventeenth century produced;"[e] and 'A Discourse concerning a New Planet, tending to prove that 'tis probable our Earth is one of the Planets' (1640). This was a vindication of the Copernican theory. Bishop Wilkins published also some theological works; among which is 'Ecclesiastes, or a Discourse on the Gift of Preaching;' but none are so important or

[d] Hallam's Literary History, iv. 338. [e] Id. id. p. 323.

remarkable as his so-called 'Mathematical and Philosophical Works,' which were collected in a single volume in 1708.

[A.D. 1673—1686.] JOHN PEARSON; the most learned and distinguished bishop by whom the see of Chester has at any time been occupied. He was born at Snoring, in Norfolk, where his father was rector, February 12th, 1612, and was educated at Eton, and at King's College, Cambridge, and soon after 1639 became Prebendary of Salisbury. On the breaking out of the Civil War he was made chaplain to Lord Goring, and afterwards to Sir Robert Cook, in London. In 1650 Pearson was appointed "Minister" of St. Clement's, Eastcheap; and in that church he preached the substance of his famous 'Exposition of the Creed,' first published in 1659, at the request of his parishioners. Soon after the Restoration Bishop Juxon made him rector of St. Christopher's in London; and before the end of 1660 he became Prebendary of Ely, Archdeacon of Surrey, and Master of Jesus College, Cambridge. In 1661 he was nominated one of the Commissioners for the Review of the Liturgy in the Savoy Conference, and in 1662 was made Master of Trinity, Cambridge. In 1673 Pearson was consecrated to the see of Chester. He died at Chester in 1686, and was buried in his own cathedral, without any memorial,—a neglect which within the last few years has been well atoned for. (See Pt. I. § XIII.)

Pearson, according to Burnet, was "in all respects the greatest divine of the age: a man of great learning, strong reason, and a clear judgment. He was a judicious and grave preacher, more instructive than effective, and a man of a spotless life, and of an excellent temper. He was not active in his diocese, but too remiss and easy in his episcopal functions, and was a much better divine than a bishop."[f]

[f] Hist. of his own Times, vol. iii.

His work on the Creed is one of the noblest contributions to theological science ever made by the English Church.

[A.D. 1686—1689.] THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, a somewhat political prelate, born of presbyterian parents at Southampton, an active Puritan in the days of the Commonwealth, and a violent high churchman and royalist after the Restoration. He was one of the three Commissioners appointed by James II. to eject the President and Fellows of Magdalene, and made himself so unpopular that on the landing of William III. he was compelled to leave the kingdom. He followed James II. to St. Germans, and accompanied him to Ireland, where he died in 1689, and was buried in Christ Church, Dublin. His diary from August, 1686 to October, 1687, has been edited for the Camden Society.

[A.D. 1689—1707.] NICHOLAS STRATFORD; a firm supporter of the Church of England, a learned and excellent bishop.

[A.D. 1708—1714.] SIR WILLIAM DAWES, translated to York.

[A.D. 1714—1725.] FRANCIS GASTRELL, compiler of the 'Notitia Cestriensis,' a valuable account of the ecclesiastical antiquities of the diocese, still remaining in MS.

[A.D. 1726—1752.] SAMUEL PEPLOE.

[A.D. 1752, translated to Ely 1771.] EDMUND KEENE, Master of St. Peter's, Cambridge, and rector of Stanhope; which valuable living he held in commendam with the see of Chester.

[A.D. 1777, translated to London 1787.] BEILBY PORTEUS, born at York, 1731, of American parents; educated at York and Cambridge. Bishop Porteus, liberal and somewhat latitudinarian, is now best remembered as one of the earliest and most active friends of the slave and of the negro in the West Indies. He died in 1808.

[A.D. 1788—1800.] WILLIAM CLEAVER; translated to Bangor, and thence in 1805 to St. Asaph. Died 1815.

[A.D. 1800, translated to Bangor, 1809.] HENRY WILLIAM MAJENDIE, Canon of St. Paul's.

[A.D. 1810, translated to Ely, 1812.] BOWYER EDWARD SPARKE, Dean of Bristol.

[A.D. 1812, translated to Bath and Wells, 1824.] GEORGE HENRY LAW, Prebendary of Carlisle.

[A.D. 1824, translated to London, 1828.] CHARLES JAMES BLOMFIELD. Bishop Blomfield resigned the see of London in 1856, and died in the following year.

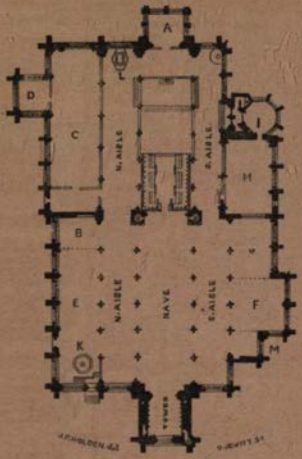
[A.D. 1828, translated to Canterbury, 1848.] JOHN BIRD SUMNER.

[A.D. 1848—1866.] JOHN GRAHAM.

[A.D. 1866—] WILLIAM JACOBSON.

MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

ROOD TURRET. FROM THE ROOF.



REFERENCES.

A *Cheetham Chapel.*
B *St. James's Chapel.*
C *St. John's Chapel: now called Derby Chapel.*
D *Ely Chapel.*
E *North Chapel.*
F *St. George's Chapel.*
G *St. Nicholas's Chapel.*
H *Jesus Chapel.*
I *Chapter House.*
K *Font.*
L *Cheetham's Monument.*
M *South Porch.*

GROUND PLAN OF MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

Scale of 100 feet to 1 inch.

MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL SOUTH EAST VIEW.

MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

PART I.

History and Details.

I. Manchester Cathedral represents, and occupies the site of, the ancient church of the rectory, erected into a collegiate church in 1422. (See Pt. II.) No part of the existing building is of earlier date.* The original plan consisted of nave and choir of equal length, with side-aisles, and a western tower. There were no transepts. After the church was thus completed, chapels were founded and added so as to form double aisles to the nave and to the choir (with the exception of a small portion of the south side); and at the east end a Lady-chapel was erected. The result is the production of a ground-plan somewhat unusual in England, though on the Continent such a multiplication of aisles is not uncommon. The church became the cathedral on the foundation of the see in 1848;

* Part of the western tower, recently taken down, must no doubt have been erected before 1400.

since which time great part of it has been restored, and some portions rebuilt, under the direction of Mr. James P. Holden, the chapter architect.

Manchester Cathedral stands tolerably well, within the open space of its flagged and now unused churchyard (*Frontispiece*). It is not greatly pressed on by surrounding buildings; but it suffers, of course, from the smoky canopy which at all times overhangs the city. It is built throughout of a brown sandstone from Collyhurst.[b] Its Perpendicular architecture is rich and stately; but the church possesses none of the features which ought to mark the cathedral of a great see, and which do mark every English Cathedral of the older foundations. Manchester Cathedral is a very fine parish church. It was dedicated, on the foundation of the college in 1422, to the Blessed Virgin, St. George, and St. Denys. On the refoundation by Elizabeth (see Pt. II.) it became the church of Christ's College.

II. The Cathedral is entered through a portal opening to the Western Tower, or by doors at the ends of the nave-aisles. The view looking eastward is fine, without being especially striking. The roofs of nave and choir are at the same level; and the arch opening to the choir rises nearly to the roof, so that the eye ranges beyond the choir-screen to the eastern window. This lofty choir-arch, and the unusual in-

[b] In the recent restoration the outside has been faced with a most durable stone from quarries near Ramsbottom, about 12 miles from Manchester. The stone is a millstone grit, very hard to work, but well suited for the purpose.

tricacy produced by the double aisles, are the points which at first appear most noticeable. The nave roof has been coloured; that of the choir is entirely white; an arrangement which is not satisfactory, although it somewhat adds to the effect of the general view from the west end of the church.

The *nave* is of six bays. The main arcade is lofty, with slender piers, the shafts of which have capitals with rounded abaci. In front of each pier a vaulting-shaft runs up to the springers of the roof. The spandrils between the arches are panelled with quatrefoils containing shields. Above is a narrow cornice with small squares of leafage, alternating, on the south side, with human heads. A rich fleur-de-lys cresting rises in each bay above the cornice, at the base of a large clerestory window, filled with good tracery. The ceiling is of wood, with tie-beams; the small spaces above which, as well as the spandrils at the sides, are filled with open tracery. At the bases of the springers are angels bearing musical instruments. The whole has been coloured in red, blue, white, and gold; and an inscription runs along the side beams.

The whole of this work dates from the early part of the fifteenth century; but no record of its erection has been preserved. It is possible that both nave and choir were in progress at the same time; the nave being the work of the founders of the College; whilst the choir, richer but very similar in its details, was certainly built at the cost of the first warden, although

it was greatly altered by James Stanley, warden from 1481 to his death in 1515.

III. The *second aisles of the nave* were added at a later period; probably during the last half of the century. The arcade which divides them from the older aisles differs little in its mouldings from the main arcade; but the shaft-capitals are octagonal instead of circular. There are small heads at the terminations of the outer moulding. The outer *south* aisle contained the chantry of the Traffords, and was probably built, in great part at least, by that family. Here were also the chapels of St. Nicholas and St. George. In the outer *north* aisle were the Strangeways' chantry, and the chapel of St. James. The windows of both aisles are of late Perpendicular and Debased character. Galleries extend throughout these outer aisles. The original oak screens dividing the chapels were in existence up to the year 1815, when the church underwent a "restoration."

IV. At the west end of the nave a lofty arch opens to the tower. The wall above the arch is panelled, as are the walls of the lower story of the tower itself. The roof of this part of the tower is richly groined. (For the tower, which is entirely modern, see § XII.).

The *font* stands at the west end of the outer nave-aisle. It is modern, octagonal, and of Perpendicular character. The font was given as a memorial of Edward Frere and his wife; the cover, as a memorial of George Lings, "comptroller to the churchwardens and overseers of Manchester."

In the south aisle of the nave is a monument for Dauntsey Hulme, Esq., by R. Westmacott, Jun. It represents the story of the Good Samaritan, and deserves notice.

The flooring of the nave is of plain tiles, arranged in lozenge patterns. The whole nave has been fitted with open benches of good design.

There is some modern stained glass in the windows at the west end of the south aisle; and on the north side of the tower-arch is a window by HARDMAN, unpleasing in colour. A list of subjects with which it is proposed to fill all the clerestory windows in both nave and choir is hung in the church. The subjects for the nave are from the Old Testament; for the choir, from the New. Nothing can be better than such an arrangement; and it only remains to be hoped that the whole series of designs will be entrusted to one artist. (See Chester Cathedral, Pt. I. § XI.).

V. Through doors in the returned wood-work of the stalls, which forms the choir-screen, we pass into the *choir*. This, including the retrochoir, is like the nave, six bays in length. The reredos separates the easternmost bay from the actual choir; and an arch opens from this last bay, forming the retrochoir, into the Lady-chapel, or as it is now called, the Chetham Chapel. Above the arch is the east window. The arrangement thus resembles the eastern end of Chester Cathedral; and is indeed not uncommon in churches of various dates (as in Hereford Cathedral, Norman and Early English, and in Exeter Cathedral, Early

English and Decorated), where a Lady-chapel has been added after the completion of the original design.

The general effect of the choir is fine. The roof is almost pure white, and the piers and arches have received a somewhat warmer or cream-coloured tint. Some positive colour and gilding might well be introduced: but the roof and the main arcade are of great beauty in themselves; and the wood-work of the stalls is, for its date, as fine as any in England. The stalls occupy the two westernmost bays. The presbytery, beyond them, is raised by two steps; and two more steps ascend to the altar at the end of the fifth bay.

The choir, as it at first existed, was the recorded work of John Huntingdon, the first warden of the College, 1422-1458. On the brass of his tomb-slab in the choir (which, it is said, was removed some years since to the vault below) was his effigy, with the words "Domine dilexi decorem domus tuæ;" and an inscription recording that "de novo construxit istam Cancellam." The rebus of Huntingdon, a hunter with a stag and horned ram before him, and a man drawing liquor from a tun or barrel, is placed on either side of the arch opening to the Chetham Chapel. The figures are in plaster, and of course are modern; but they are copied from a rebus of the same design, which exists on shields in the spandrils of the choir roof at its westernmost end.

VI. The general design of the choir (Plate I.) precisely resembles that of the nave, and there is little or no difference in the details. The string-course

MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL. THE CHOIR.

above the main arcade on the north side has laid into it bosses of foliage, alternating with small heads and animals. On the south side there is only foliage. The wide and depressed arches of the clerestory lights indicate the lateness of the work; and there is no doubt that the portion of the chancel above the main arcade, including the roof, was, as it now exists, the work of Huntingdon's successors.[c] The eagles which, instead of angels as in the nave, here rise between the capitals of the vaulting-shafts and the springers of the roof, indicate that James Stanley, who became warden in 1481 (and afterwards Bishop of Ely, see *post*), was connected with this part of the building; and may, indeed, be considered to prove that other members of the great house of Stanley were among the benefactors at the time of its erection. The roof also, richer than that of the nave, is of later character. It is panelled, with rich tracery in the panels, and

[c] The inscription on Huntingdon's brass, like similar assertions in many chronicles and on many tombs, need not be read too literally. It would be sufficiently borne out if we suppose that Huntingdon completed the choir as high as the base of the clerestory. But it is possible he finished it, and that the upper part of Huntingdon's choir was removed and rebuilt by Bishop Stanley. In the judgment of Mr. Holden, the architect of the restoration, the only portions of Huntingdon's choir which now remain are the piers and arch opening to the Chetham Chapel; the east ends of the north and south aisles; and the two bays of the south aisle eastward of the Chapter-house. All the rest of the existing choir he regards as the work of Bishop Stanley. But if Huntingdon's choir (as was certainly the case) occupied the same ground as the present building, it seems strange that it should have been destroyed so soon after its completion.

magnificent bosses of foliage at the intersections of the beams. The hammer-braces have hanging foliation; and the spandrils above them are filled with open tracery. A cornice with small shields is carried along at the top of the clerestory; and in this cornice, at the crown of each clerestory arch, is an angel. The dates at the ends of the roof, 1638 (east) and 1742 (west) mark the years in which the whole roof was extensively repaired.

VII. The very fine *wood-work* of the *stalls* is nearly of the same date as that of the stalls in Chester Cathedral, but is much richer. The tabernacling is in two divisions; the lower having above its canopies, brackets for figures (which perhaps were never placed on them); the upper terminating in rich canopies, with a remarkable flat cornice above them. At the drips of the lower work are small figures of angels holding books and shields. The bench-ends, the finials (very fine and bold, and showing more direct imitation of nature in the foliage than was usual at the time of their execution), and the arms of the stalls, all deserve the most careful examination, and are all admirable for the great boldness and spirit of their execution. The misereres also are unusually good. On them are many figures of animals, especially apes and foxes. One of these subs-stalls has a fox running off with a goose; and at the sides, the "vixen" teaching her cubs to read, and Reynard himself busy with a book. In all the subjects there seems to be a strong recollection of the great beast-epic, without an actual representation of its

scenes. On the north side of the stalls is the curious shield of Richard Beck, a merchant of Manchester, by whom the whole of the stalls on the north side of the choir were erected. It bears the letters r. b. At the west end of the stalls, on the south side, is, below, the shield of Stanley; and above, a representation of the story from which the well-known crest of that house is taken, an eagle with a child in its nest, on the top of a tree. Figures passing below seem to be noticing it. On the opposite side, north, is the shield of Cantilupe, a lion in a field sémé of cross-crosslets. The stalls on the south side were erected by Bishop Stanley.

The Organ is placed on the north side, in the first bay beyond the stalls. Opposite is the bishop's throne. The two bays eastward have good open wood-work above, of the same apparent date as the stalls, and are enclosed below with iron grilles, apparently work of the last century. The same iron-work forms the rail of the altar. The stone reredos, with its niches, is entirely modern.

The Choir is paved with tiles; and on the fronts of the steps that divide the choir from the presbytery is the inscription, "The pavement of this choir was presented, A.D. 1859, by William Andrew of Ardwick, in token of respect and gratitude to the Rev. Canon Wray on the completion of the fiftieth year of his ministration."

The *east window* of the choir, best seen from here, is filled with very good stained glass by HARDMAN. It contains seven lights. That in the centre displays

the Crucifixion of Our Lord; in the north lights are events which preceded it; in the southern lights, those which followed. The window itself is of late character, with tall and shallow niches on either side.

VIII. The east window of the *North Choir-aisle* is of the same date as that of the choir. On either side are niches with sculptured brackets,—south, a grotesque; north, a human figure between an angel and a demon. The window is filled with stained glass by Wailes.

Under this window, and at the end of the aisle, is the fine statue by W. Theed (1853) of one of the earliest benefactors of Manchester,—Humphrey Chetham. The figure, which suffers from the stained glass at its back, is seated, and very dignified; the antique dress, with ruff, mantle, and flowing hair beneath a scull-cap, lending itself well to the effect. At the base of the pedestal is seated a scholar of the Chetham School, with an open book, bearing an inscription from Psalm cxii:—"He hath dispersed abroad and given to the poor." "His righteousness remaineth for ever." On one side of the pedestal are the words "Humfredo Chetham, Hospitii et Bibliothecæ fundatori, D.D., gratus alumnus MDCCCLIII." (the statue was the gift of George Pilkington, Esq., merchant of Manchester); on the other, "He that followeth after righteousness and mercy findeth life, righteousness, and honour" (Prov. xxi. 21). Humphrey Chetham, born 1580, died 1653, was the descendant of an ancient Lancashire family, which took its surname

from the village of Chetham, near Manchester. He made a large fortune by trading in "fustians," then the chief cloth of the country; and besides maintaining many poor boys during his life, he founded by his will what is now known as the Chetham Hospital, in which a certain number of boys are entirely provided for and instructed until they can be placed in business. The Chetham Library, which is now one of the best provincial libraries in England, was also founded by Humphrey Chetham, who, says Fuller, was "a diligent reader of the Scriptures, and of the works of sound divines; a respecter of such ministers as he accounted truly godly, upright, sober, discreet and sincere."[d] The flat panelled roofs of this aisle, and of the south-choir-aisle, opposite, are entirely new.

IX. The second aisle on the north side of the choir is formed entirely by the *Derby Chapel*, which is of the same length as the choir itself. This chapel has been entirely rebuilt, and the sculpture has been reworked; but the whole has been done in accordance with the original design. This part of the "restoration" has been effected at the cost of the present representatives of the founders.

The chapel is divided from the choir-aisle by a plain arcade, of much later character than that of the choir. As in the second nave arcades, the capitals of the piers are octagonal, instead of round, as in the older work. Very good Perpendicular screens of wood fill the lower part of each bay. An inscription was

[d] Worthies. Lancashire.

formerly to be seen above the entrance, recording the foundation of the chapel in 1513 by James Stanley, Bishop of Ely (the warden of the college before and after his elevation to that see), and his natural son Sir John Stanley.[e] It was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and will now be used as the Baptistery of the Cathedral (although the font at present stands elsewhere). The westernmost bay is partly divided by screen-work, so as to form a sort of antechapel, and contains some stained glass by HUGHES. The windows themselves are late Perpendicular. That at the east end (filled with stained glass by EDMUNDSON representing the Nativity, and subjects having reference to children) has a fine canopied niche on either side, and a second niche within the outer hood-moulding. The brackets in these inner and smaller niches are sculptured with grotesque animals. The outer bracket on the north side has a bishop (the founder) kneeling before a desk. There are also brackets at the sides of the first window on the north side, with an angel (east), and a demon (west) holding a human head.

From the next bay (the second from the east) opens a small square chapel, now used as the choir singing-school, but containing the tomb of Bishop Stanley, and known as the *Ely Chapel*. In each wall is a

[e] The inscription, preserved by Randal Holme, who made his 'Church Notes' in 1652, ran thus:—"Vanitas Vanitatū et oĩa vanitas, obsecram' ut adjuvēt' nos Jacob̄ Stanley Elyeñ Epū Jō Stanley mīt et Margt. ux̃ eī et parentes eor' in orationibu' vestris apud dn̄ Jesum Xpūm, qui hanc capellā in ei' noĩe et in honore Joh̄is Baptist' fabricauerunt añ incarcōis illi' MDXIII.'

window having niches at the sides (within the arch of the window), and brackets supported by angels and grotesque figures. The windows are filled with glass bearing the monogram I. H. S.; and in one is a figure of Bishop Stanley.

Against the screen dividing this chantry from the Derby Chapel is the altar-tomb of Bishop Stanley, with a small brass and an inscription. The lower part of the brass effigy has disappeared. The rich embroidery of the dalmatic should be noticed, and all the vestments are well marked. Bishop Stanley, who was buried here, has also a chantry and a brass in Ely Cathedral. Instances of such double memorials are not uncommon. The very curious brass of Bishop Robinson in Carlisle Cathedral (see Carlisle, Pt. I. § xi.) has its facsimile in the chapel of Queen's College, Oxford.

Bishop Stanley was the third son of Thomas Stanley, created Earl of Derby in 1485. He became warden of Manchester in 1481, and bishop of Ely in 1506; dying at Manchester, March 22, 1515. He is said to have been

> "A goodlie tawel man, as was in all England,
> And sped well in matters that he took in hand.
> * * * * * *
> An great Viander as anie in his dayes.'[f]

But he had "little priest's metal" in him; and his promotion in the church was probably due to the

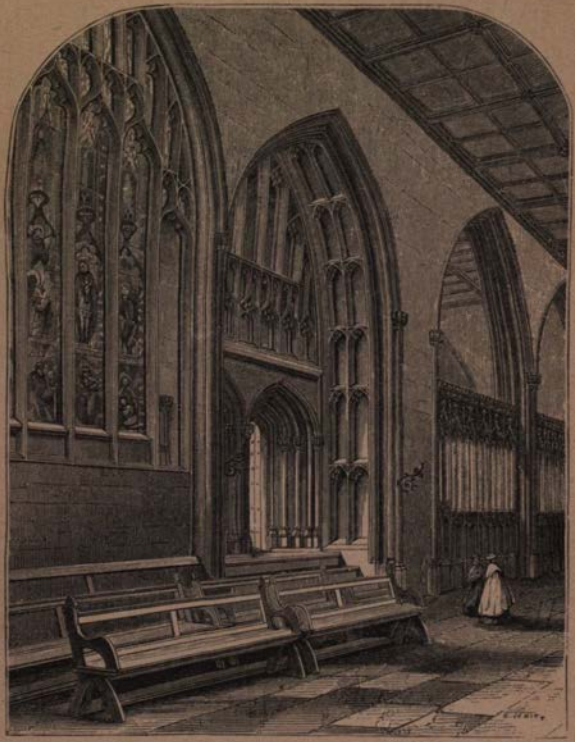
[f] These lines are from a MS. 'History of the Derby Family,' quoted in Bentham's 'History of Ely,' p. 187.

influence of his mother-in-law, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby.

X. The *Lady-chapel*, now called the *Chetham Chapel*, at the east end of the choir, was added by George West, youngest brother of Lord Delaware, who became warden in 1518. It is square, with late Perpendicular windows, and is divided from the retrochoir by a screen of wood-work, much shattered, but of very good execution. The arch opening to the chapel is nearly circular, with peculiar pier-capitals, and niches on either side below them. At the terminations of the hood-moulding are the figures which make the rebus of Huntingdon, already noticed. The unusual character of this late arch deserves attention; and it seems possible (although there is no record of it) that some earlier building may have existed on the site of the Lady-chapel, portions of which were used in the new work.[s]

[s] A choir certainly existed before the erection of that by John Huntingdon. But of the date and character of the earlier church, or of its plan and extent, little or nothing has been ascertained with certainty. It is said to have been chiefly constructed of wood; a description which suggests such timbered building as is so frequently met with in the old halls of Cheshire and Lancashire, and such as may still be seen in the Chapel of Denton, near Manchester. There may, however, have been stone-work in parts of the church; and in removing the western tower, portions of Early English and of Decorated mouldings were discovered, which had evidently belonged to an earlier structure.

The piers which carry the arch of the Lady-chapel seem to be Decorated. The shafts are ribbed, in the same manner as the Decorated shafts in Chester Cathedral. Mr. Holden regards the piers and the arch above as among the few remaining portions of Huntingdon's work. See § VI., note.



ENTRANCE TO CHAPTER HOUSE, MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

INTERIOR OF CHAPTER HOUSE, MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

This Chapel has not as yet (1868) been restored. It contains two altar-tombs for members of the Chetham family; and Humphrey Chetham is buried here, though without a memorial.

XI. The *south choir-aisle* is of the same date as the choir. At the east end and in the two first bays from the east, are Perpendicular windows of late character, filled with stained glass by WAILES, which is at least rich in colour. In the angle of the aisle is placed a statue, by E. H. Bailey, R.A. (1851) of Thomas Fleming; born at Manchester, 1767; died 1848; a great benefactor to the city. The head is characterised by much thought and benevolence.

In the third bay is the entrance to the *Chapter-house* (Plate II.). This is octagonal, with windows resembling those in the clerestory of the choir, in five of its sides. It is flat-roofed, and ceiled with plaster (Plate III.). In its present condition this Chapter-house is of no very high interest. Although it may have been included in Huntingdon's plan, it seems to have been taken down and re-erected during the wardenship of James Stanley.

Below the Chapter-house is the *Jesus Chapel*, divided from the first aisle by some good old screen-work. The Chapel itself has been entirely rebuilt; and has a flat, panelled ceiling of wood. Attached to this chapel was a chantry, now destroyed, belonging to the family of Hulme.

XII. On the *exterior* of the Cathedral the parapet above the clerestory deserves attention. Each bay is

divided by a slender buttress, the pinnacle capping which rises above the parapet. A stair-turret, also rising above the parapet, separates nave and choir, and is assigned, like the separating arch in the interior, to Bishop Stanley. The pinnacles are modern. Similar turrets, rising at the junction of the nave and chancel, occur at Wigan and at Standish.

The exterior of the Jesus Chapel, with its grotesque gurgoyles, is entirely new. Similar gurgoyles project from the cornice of the Chapter-house.

The *Western Tower* has been built from the foundations upwards, after a design by the Chapter Architect, Mr. James P. Holden. The Perpendicular tower which it has replaced, was pronounced unsafe; and although in the judgment of Mr. G. G. Scott it might have been restored, it was considered better to remove it altogether. This older tower had windows on all four sides immediately below the parapet. The present tower is not a copy of its predecessor, though it reproduces many of its features. Its effect is fine; but it is perhaps to be regretted that, when it was determined to remove the former tower, it was not replaced by a more cathedral-like west front. The height of the modern tower is 137 ft.

MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

The College and the See.

THE parish church of Manchester, as has already (Pt. I.) been mentioned, was made collegiate in 1422, in which year the royal license for its foundation is dated. The license runs as follows:—

"That (since) the venerable father in Christ, Thomas, Bishop of Durham" (THOMAS LANGLEY, see Durham Cathedral, Pt. II.) "John Henege, Nicholas Motte, incumbent of the church of Swinehead, Richard Lumbard, lately incumbent of the church of Hotham, and Richard Frithe, hold the manor of Manchester with its appurtenances, together with the advowson of the church of Manchester, by gift and feoffment, of Thomas de la Warre, Clerk: the King, of his special favour, and in consideration of two hundred marks paid to him into the Hanaper Court, has granted, and given permission that they may erect, or cause to be erected, by him to whom it belongs, the said Church of Manchester into a Collegiate Church; and that in and belonging to the said church they may be able to make, found, and establish a certain college, with one master or warden and as many fellows and other ministers as shall seem good to the said

bishop, John, Nicholas, Richard, and Richard, and to the said Thomas de la Warre."[a]

Thomas West or De la Warre was a younger brother of the Lord de la Warre, and was rector of the parish of Manchester. On the death of Lord De la Warre without issue, his brother Thomas succeeded to the barony and to the manor of Manchester. It was at his instance and by his special grants that the proposed college was established. It consisted of one warden, eight fellows, four clerks, and six choristers.

The college was dissolved in 1547, the first year of Edward VI. Its lands then passed for a time into the hands of the Stanleys; but they were for the most part restored on the re-establishment of the college by Philip and Mary. Laurence Vaux, the warden then appointed, was expelled on the accession of Elizabeth; but the college was not dissolved, although its condition was uncertain and undefined until the grant of a renewed charter of foundation by Elizabeth in 1578. At this time its name was changed from the "College of the Blessed Virgin" to "Christ's College." In 1635 Charles I. granted a new charter, drawn up by Archbishop Laud, restraining certain abuses of management which had hitherto prevailed. During the Civil War the College was dissolved by ordinance of Parliament. It was revived on the Restoration in 1660, subject to the statutes of Charles I., and has, since that time, had its regular succession of wardens and fellows.

On the first dissolution of the College in 1547, the domestic buildings passed into the hands of the Earl of Derby, and were not restored with the other lands. After the Restoration they were conveyed by Charlotte de la Tremouille, the famous Countess of Derby, to the feoffees

[a] The Charter is thus translated in Baines's 'History of Lancashire,' vol. ii. p. 193.

of Chetham's Hospital; and since that time they have been used for the purposes of the School or Hospital and of the Library. They stand on the north side of the church, at the angle of junction of the river Irk with the Irwell.

Both Cheshire and Lancashire were within the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry before the erection of the see of Chester in 1541. (See 'Chester Cathedral,' Pt. II.) The Bishop of Chester maintained his jurisdiction over the whole of Lancashire until, in 1848, Manchester became the see of a bishopric, which embraces all Lancashire, with the exception of Liverpool. That city still remains a portion of the diocese of Chester.

The Bishop of Manchester is

[A.D. 1848.] JAMES PRINCE LEE.

The warden, fellows, and chaplains of the College became dean, canons, and minor canons of the new chapter.

THE END.

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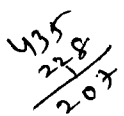

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